DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 349 609 CS 507 956

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (75th, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, August 5-8, 1992). Part II: Journalism History, Section B.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	Aug 92
NOTE	292p.; For other sections of these proceedings, see CS 507 955-970. For 1991 Proceedings, see ED 340 045.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Copyrights; European History; Foreign Countries; Japanese; *Journalism History; *Newspapers; Sex Fairness; Social Change
IDENTIFIERS	China; Foreign News; France; Hawaii; Historical Background; Idaho; Japan; Journalism Research; Religious News; Russia; Vigilantes

ABSTRACT

Section B of the Journalism History section of the proceedings contains the following nine papers: "Weep into Silence/Cries of Rage: Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press" (Tom Brislin); "Viewing the Newspaper as International: The First International Organization of Journalists Debates News Copyright 1894-1898" (Ulf Jonas Bjork); "The Commercial Roots of Foreign Correspondence: The 'New York Herald' and Foreign News, 1835-1839" (Ulf Jonas Bjork); "The Short Life of the National Courier: Christian Journalism's 'Finest Hour?'" (Ken Waters); "The Revolutionary Power of the Press: Newspapers as a Shadow Political Arena in 1848 in France and 1917 in Russia" (Lisa W. Holstein); "Broken Bridges: Protestant Missionary Journalists as Cultural Brokers in Early 19th Century China" (Charles W. Elliot); "The Treasonous Irish: Vigilantes, Conspiracies and the Mainstream Press, 1917-1918" (Mick Mulcrone); "Unequal Partners: Gender Relationships in Victorian Radical Journalism" (David R. Spencer); and "The Newspaper as Social Composer of the North Idaho Mining Frontier" (David J. Vergobbi). (RS)

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ED349609

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Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage:

Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press

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Presented to the History Division,
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Annual Convention, Montreal, August 5-8, 1992

Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage:
Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press

Tom Brislin
University of Hawaii

Introduction: Naki Neri

No issue divided Hawaii's pre-war American and Japanese communities as completely and bitterly as the territorial government's moves in the 1920s to regulate - and eliminate - the islands' Japanese Language Schools.

The schools taught Japanese language and customs to the American citizen children of the issei - the first generation of Japanese immigrant laborers. These nisei children attended the schools in addition to their regular public school day.

The Hawaii Territorial Government, fearing this nisei generation of American voters still paying homage to Japan, enacted restrictive measures designed to stymie the schools by limiting who could teach, who and what could be taught, and how and when it could be taught.

The resulting bitterness toward the American community spilled over and split the Japanese community itself, played out in full rancor in the Japanese-language press. Self-styled conservative and activist editors battled over whether to buckle under or rail against racism in the cloak of "Americanization."

The conservative faction, represented by publisher Yasutaro Soga of the Nippu Jiji (Japan Times), urged a passive assimilation - getting along by going along. He called for *naki neri*, to "weep into silence:" Comply with the unfair regulations lest more severe measures to restrict the Japanese follow. 1

The lone activist editor was Fred Kinzaburo Makino of the Hawaii Hochi (Hawaii News) who channeled community dissension into the courts with a test case challenging the "alien school" laws. Makino's view of assimilation was accepting nothing less than equal rights, treatment and acceptance for the Japanese. He raged against calls for submission - the "rubbing of hands" - and branded Soga cowardly, a "worm" and *chorinbo*, "to be despised." 2

The "Americanization" campaign was high on the agenda of the English-language press. The afternoon Honolulu Star-Bulletin vigorously endorsed the language school restriction policies of the territorial governor - also its owner - Wallace Rider Farrington. The publisher of the morning Honolulu Advertiser, Lorrin A. Thurston, was a key member of the territorial Citizenship Education Committee.

Both newspapers became highly critical - and at one point called for the muzzling - of Makino's Hochi. They used a high-grade jingoism and barely veiled racial threats in editorials that spread the fear of a Japanese-dominated island paying homage more to emperor than president and "too ignorant (of American ideals) to be trusted with self-government." 3

But it was the territorial government and American dailies who failed the test on constitutional rights. In 1927 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the challenge brought by Makino's Hochi and a group of language schools, declaring the school regulation laws unconstitutional.

The high court's decision was another in a long string of Makino's civil rights campaigns. Although it settled the language

school controversy, the deep rift between Makino's Hochi and Soga's Jiji would never heal. Makino would continue to challenge the English-language press as well, demanding an equal role for Japanese in Hawaii's society.

The Japanese Language School battle focused the essential differences between the two Japanese press leaders and reflected the divisions and struggles for identity within the Japanese community. Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto's study of the role of the press in developing Hawaii's Japanese community concludes:

> It was in the dramatic confrontations of the (Jiji and Hochi) and their publisher-editors that the essential role of the Japanese press in Hawaii may best be appreciated. The basic cultural, political and ideological developments among the issei and nisei were primarily worked out on the pages of Soga's Nippu Jiji and Makino's Hawaii Hochi. The very identity of the entire ethnic group within Hawaiian society was carved out of their debates over acculturation, civil rights and labor movements. 4

Rise of the Japanese Press

After the first six-year contract period for Japanese laborers was up, some elected to stay in Hawaii and start their own businesses. One was an ex-immigration inspector, Bunichiro Onome, who began publication of the first Japanese-language newspaper the mimeographed Nippon Shuho (Japan Weekly) in 1892. 5

From its beginnings the Japanese Press in Hawaii served a dual role for a community with a dual identity. It was a link - in many cases the last - between the immigrant and the home left behind. Shunzo Sakamaki, in his 1928 study of Hawaii's Japanese press wrote:

> There is an inevitable cleavage between the old-Japan parent and his Hawaiian-born offspring. And the gap between him and the third generation is even greater. So, with stoic compliance to this strange situation, so foreign to the ways

> of his people for countless generations, the Japanese in Hawaii turns to his language newspaper; here he lives in a familiar world; here he finds some measure of consolation; here he lives out his days in the realm of memory and fancy. 6

But the Japanese Press was also predominantly bilingual, seeing itself as an educational tool to help contract laborers learn English, establish their permanent residence in Hawaii, invest in local enterprises rather than send their money back to Japan, and to raise their children as Americans. 7

The Shuho passed through several hands and name-changes to become the daily Nippu Jiji, the leading Japanese voice in the early 1900s. The Jiji, under publisher Yasutaro Soga, ran a series of stories in 1908, written by Yokichi Tasaka and Motoyuki Negoro that exposed inequities in wages and housing for Japanese plantation workers.

The stories attracted the attention of Fred Kinzaburo Makino, a drugstore owner fluent in English and Japanese. Makino had no legal training but would serve as an advocate or representative of non-English speaking Japanese involved in legal disputes.

Makino joined Soga, Tasaka and Negoro to form the Higher Wages Association, which sought to negotiate pay and living conditions for the Japanese laborers equal to their Portuguese and Puerto Rican counterparts. Negotiations proved futile and the association called for a strike. The result was the territory's first labor dispute, etched in Hawaii history as the "Japanese Strike" of 1909. 8

The four were jailed several times as alien agitators - and finally for three months for "conspiracy to impoverish" the sugar companies. They were denounced as troublemakers not only in the

March 20, 1910 Honolulu Advertiser cartoon depicting the four Japanese strike leaders as jailed crybabies.

English-language press, but by Honolulu's two other Japanese language dailies, the Hawaii Shimpo (News) and the Hawaii Nichinichi Shimbun (Daily News).

The plantations held fast and broke the strike, but at a cost greater than if they had agreed to the modest Japanese demands. The plantations soon instituted a bonus system and housing upgrades to forestall further unrest. To the workers, this spelled victory, making the Soga-Makino group heros. 9

The strike struggles and jail time hardened Makino's resolve to fight for Japanese rights. Makino was no stranger to scrapes - he grew up an outsider in two cultures. He was born in Yokohama, Japan in 1877 to a British father, who died when Makino was four, and a Japanese mother. He grew up in the Japanese traditions of his mother but fluent in the English language of his father. He came to Hawaii in 1897 to join his brother in operating a small store.

Makino felt the strike softened Soga's stand on Japanese rights. Soga's marriage and health suffered from the stress of long hours coordinating and negotiating the strike, the time he spent in jail - and from being denounced by fellow Japanese journalists. Soga began editorializing that since sugar was so important to the

territory's economy, the workers should obey all plantation rules. 10

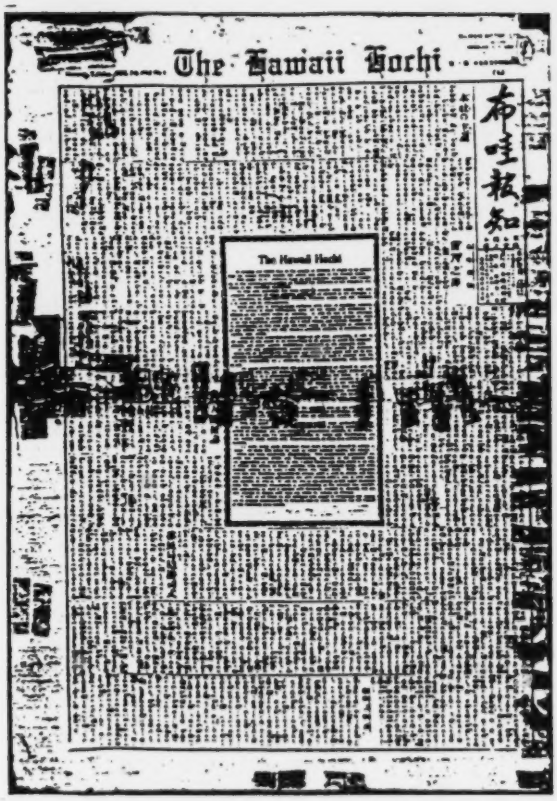
Makino was infuriated that the Shimpo and Nichinichi never took up the strikers' cause. He discovered that Sometaro Sheba, the Shimpo's editor, was subsidized by the sugar planters' association to support the plantation viewpoint. 11 Sheba was something of a dandy who had long been enamored of Western ways. He started an English-language weekly on the Island of Kauai that catered to the plantation owners' interests. He urged his readers to abandon their Japanese traditions, avoid contact with other ethnic groups and speak, act and dress like the Americans. 12

Makino decided to start his own newspaper, the Hawaii Hochi, "for the sole purpose of protecting the civil rights of Japanese immigrants." 13 In his inaugural editorial on Dec. 7, 1912, Makino wrote the Hochi, "published daily in the Japanese language, will endeavor, to the utmost of its ability, to further the interests of the Japanese residents of the Territory. . . . "

He also announced his paper's first activist campaign: "To secure from the Japanese Government a modification of the present rule restricting pass-ports, so that Japanese who formerly resided in Hawaii, but are now staying in Japan, will have the right to return to Hawaii." 14

Makino's editorial and community campaigns quickly brought him and the Hochi prominence - as well as considerable social reform:

* He won changes in immigration laws ending the "degrading practice" of mass weddings for "picture bride" couples and the deportation of teachers in the Japanese language schools.



Hawaii Hochi inaugural edition
December 7, 1912

Early edition of Nippu Jiji
November 6, 1906

* He won citizenship for Japanese soldiers who fought for the United States in World War I.

* He urged racial solidarity among workers in Hawaii, helping to form a labor federation that included Japanese, Filipinos and other ethnic groups. This laid the foundation for organized labor's political and economic power in Hawaii.

* Unlike his competitors, Makino used his editorial voice to support candidates sympathetic to Japanese community issues - and oppose those who weren't. 15

Both Soga and Makino urged their readers to give up their loyalties to Japan and embrace the United States as their new home.

There was a difference in style, however. Soga urged conciliation and assimilation. Makino urged confrontation for acceptance of the Japanese as an equal partner in the American ideal:

> Makino's attitude toward westerners was quite unique. He believed that westerners were aggressive so that you had to behave likewise. Once you submitted tamely to them, they might act overbearingly .... Makino believed that the Japanese were equal to the Haoles (Caucasians) as residents in the same territory.
>
> On the other hand, many Japanese had different ideas. Soga was one of their group. They viewed the Japanese as guests and the Nisei as a foster child: ... "Suppose you went to another person's house as a guest, you might not behave freely. You would be reserved, so the host might take good care of you. The Japanese in Hawaii are just like the guest .... And Nisei is just like a foster child adopted by American parents." 16

Makino's activist style often drew equal degrees of criticism from the American power structure and from his compatriots in the Japanese press.

Growth of the Language Schools

The first Japanese Language school was established in 1896, 11 years after the initial wave of contract laborers arrived in the islands to work in the sugar fields. Most of these first immigrants planned to work out their contracts and return to Japan. But the wages, weather and want for greater opportunities kept them in Hawaii. Many still harbored hopes, however, of eventually returning home so maintained their language and customs.

U.S. immigration laws prevented this first generation - the issei - from becoming American citizens. Their children, however, were citizens by right of birth in the American territory and entitled to a public school education.

The issei parents still wanted their nisei children to learn the language and customs of their cultural heritage. Those who hoped to return to Japan after a six-year contract did not want their children to "seem like foreigners in their own country." 17 Additionally, some parents were not fluent in English so that Japanese was the language of communication in the home.

The parents, in conjunction with the sugar plantations, Buddhist temples and Japanese community groups started Japanese Language Schools. The nisei children attended the schools for one hour or hour-and-a-half sessions before and after their regular school day. The schools also served as late afternoon child-care centers as both parents were often plantation workers. 18

Makino's Hochi praised the language schools for providing "the key which unlocks the doors of the treasure-house of Japanese culture . . . teaching correct idiomatic Japanese pronunciation as well as culturally pure Japanese literature." 19

There were a smaller number of Chinese and Portuguese schools as well to service those immigrant groups.

At first the foreign language schools were seen as a way to keep workers happy and families together - on the plantation. Changing immigration agreements with Japan shut off the flow of available workers. The sugar companies needed to provide incentives for their workers to stay once their contracts were up - and to encourage a second generation of field hands as well.

But the political winds shifted as island leaders saw the reality in the population numbers. The nisei generation would become the dominant voting bloc.

In 1919 Japanese comprised 44 percent of the population and five of every 10 babies born that year. 20 Japanese Language Schools had increased to 160 with 20,253 pupils and 444 teachers. A Department of Public Instruction survey noted: "The principals and teachers are predominantly non-English speaking aliens. The pupils are predominantly American-born children who are to become American citizens." 21

They had to be weaned from Japanese culture and inculcated with American ideals.

The Language School Controversy

Although the goal of the Japanese press was to see its community become a part of the American fabric, the territorial government, education and English-language press leaders saw the process as being too slow. The core of their Americanization campaign was the elimination of the Japanese Language Schools.

The campaign was fueled by a post-World War I "one language under one flag" sentiment that swept the country and closed German schools on the mainland. Hawaii leaders also feared the inevitable majority voting power of the nisei and wanted to see this American-born generation completely scrubbed of Japanese sentiments. 22

Star-Bulletin editor Riley Allen, while acknowledging the language schools as "a natural result of the great immigration from the Orient," also wrote of "the danger that these schools would retard or prevent Americanization. . . . The question naturally arises whether the alien-language school has been a factor in the sustaining the (Japanese) nationalistic spirit." 23

Nationalistic and racist cartoons in the Honolulu Advertiser, Feb. 23, 1920 (above) and Feb. 13, 1920 (right).

The Advertiser's Thurston expressed the same concerns, noting many of the language school leaders were active in a second plantation strike in 1920 - and the unease over the influence of the various Buddhist temples in the Japanese community. 24

The language schools were suspect because the teachers were Japanese nationals using textbooks from Japan and included in school activities the

celebration of Japanese national holidays including the emperor's birthday. 25

Allen also described fears that the growing number of nisei children in the public schools would retard the progress of their American classmates. Quoting an unnamed territorial educator, Allen wrote:

> Americans know that their impressionable children, literally surrounded throughout the school-day and at playtime by these swarms of Orientals, will unconsciously pick up and adopt Oriental manners and mannerisms. They know also that the Oriental children start with such a handicap in lack of the English language, as makes the progress of a whole school-class slow and labored, and the American child will be held back to the pace of the Oriental. . . . 26

The territorial governor and director of public education asked for a federal study of education in Hawaii. The resulting report urged the elimination of the language schools:

> . . . The commission is convinced that the language schools, which in the aggregate outnumber the public schools of the Territory, are centers of an influence which if not distinctly anti-American, is certainly un-American. Because of these schools children born here of foreign parents, soon to become the voters of this Commonwealth . . . are being retarded in accepting American customs, manners, ideal, principles and standards. . . . These schools in their influence are obstacles standing squarely in the road. 27

In 1920 the territorial government approved a law that took the first step toward eliminating the schools through regulation. Act 30 required the language school teachers to be licensed after passing tests in American history and ideals; be able to read, write and speak English; and use textbooks approved by the Department of Public Instruction. The law also banned morning lessons and limited instructional time to one hour a day in the afternoon. 28

To salve the Japanese community, schools superintendent Vaughan MacCaughey had a committee of its leaders, including Soga, appointed ostensibly to review and revise the textbooks. The school department, University of Hawaii and Thurston's Citizenship Education Committee organized a series of lectures to teach American history and government to the language school teachers.

In the English-language press, the outlook was rosy. Thurston wrote: "Chapter after chapter is following in rapid succession in the compiling the new history of cooperation between the Japanese and American resident in Hawaii." 29

The Japanese press was not so enthusiastic. Soga accepted the law as a reasonable compromise as there had been previous bills that died in the legislature that called for an outright ban on the schools. But he also bristled at some of the ways it was carried out, such as granting only temporary licenses to teachers who took the licensing exams using interpreters. 30

There had been a hope that the licensing exams would weed out a large number of teachers so that the schools would have to cut their enrollment. But of the 565 teachers who took the initial test, 492 passed. 31 Enrollment in the Japanese Language Schools for the 1921-22 school year was 23,000. 32

Ironically, while the Department of Public Instruction was trying to eliminate the language schools, it asked to use their facilities as temporary public schools as the territory could not keep up a school building program with the population growth. 33

Revising the language school textbooks showed the first serious rifts between the Japanese and American communities. The

Japanese committee of 15, out of courtesy and politics, asked that some American members be appointed to work with them. The move was interpreted in the English-language press as a cry for help from the Japanese because they weren't able to tackle the complicated task. 34

The Japanese view was quite different. The Japanese Educational Association's report stated: ". . . It was suggested by some Americans that it would be advisable on the part of the Committee to obtain cooperation of Americans in their undertaking." 35

The committee quickly became dominated by the American members. They insisted the texts to teach Japanese be based in English and deal with only American themes. In their support, the Advertiser's Thurston wrote:

> The direct object of the textbooks is to teach the children how to read and speak the Japanese language. The indirect object is to have the books consist of such material that the children will subconsciously absorb information therefrom concerning American life and institutions that will better fit them to become good American citizens. The two objects are not inconsistent. 36

The Americanization message was hardly subconscious, however. The English translation of a 5th grade revised text, for example, contains this lesson:

The Reason Why I Love My Flag

> I love the American Flag. When I see the American Flag or when I hear or think about the American Flag, I feel very proud and happy. 37

The chairman of the textbook committee, Tasuku Harada, appealed to the American community, but to no avail:

> Americanization is not necessarily, to my mind, de-Japanization and vice-versa. The future citizens of America,

> born of widely separated nationalities of the world, each and all shall bring their best to the melting pot so as to help the development of the greater America of the future. 38

The Japanese contingent of the committee soon learned the stripping of the textbooks was only the first step the American members had in mind for gutting the language schools.

Section 7 of Act 30, which specified Department of Public Instruction approval for all texts, also gave the department "full power from time to time to prescribe the course and courses of study" for the schools. The American committee members interpreted "course of study" to mean the number of years and grades the language schools would teach. They proposed that the "course of study" should be reduced from eight to six years, eliminating kindergarten through 2nd grade instruction over a three year period.

The American committee members also proposed a regulation that had never been considered in the actual law: any new language school teacher must have an 8th grade education from a Hawaii school, effectively disqualifying any Japanese national. 39

Soga, a member of the committee, objected strongly to both proposed regulations, calling them "a grave concern" and saying they "would shake the foundation of the Japanese schools." They "are not merely schools," he wrote, "they are in a sense extensions of the Japanese homes with duties as such." First, second and, possibly, third graders "thrown into the streets" would "increase the number of hoodlums in the islands," Soga wrote, adding in an editorial slap at the less-refined American kids, "which is fairly large already." 40

G.O.P. PLATFORM TO EMPHASIZE AMERICANISM

Party Leaders Gather For Convention Next Tuesday: Many Planks Are Outlined

Ultimate Elimination of Language Schools, 'Home Rule' Among Suggestions

ELIMINATION OF ALIEN SCHOOLS IS LOOKED FOR

Instruction in Japanese Language in Government Schools to Be Next Step

Problem Will Be Solved by Natural Developments From Committee's Plan

STRIKE BACKERS ARE ACTIVE FOR ALIEN SCHOOLS

Buddhists and Shintoists of Hawaii Also Prominent in Opposition to Restriction

'These Men Should be Carefully Watched,' Says Report to Attorney General

Honolulu Star-Bulletin headlines from July 15, July 31 and Sept. 4, 1922

The Hawaii Nippo, a small weekly, was more blunt: "Some say that anti-Japanese sentiment has become very strong in Hawaii. We cannot deny it. . . . The 'Paradise of the Pacific' sounds to the Japanese as very queer." 41

Although they were philosophically opposed the proposed regulations, the majority Japanese committee members endorsed them, "in the spirit of cooperation and harmony." Soga wrote the Japanese "were finally persuaded to adopt the same, believing that unless they did so there would be drastic legislation against the schools as a whole." 42

The threat to eliminate the language schools was real. The G.O.P. platform committee for 1922, heavy on "Americanism," included a plank calling for the "ultimate elimination of language schools." 43

Governor Wallace Rider Farrington, the Star-Bulletin's owner, said in his signing the regulations into law: "The problem, if there be one, is not whether our alien races can assimilate, but

rather whether they, with the door of opportunity wide open before them, are willing to assimilate." 44

Willingness, however, was not counted in Farrington's hidden agenda. A confidential letter from Superintendent MacCaughey to Farrington on July 6, 1922, responded "in pursuance with your request for an outline of a policy looking toward the elimination of foreign language schools." It included such proposals as lengthening the public school day "to seven or eight hours" so there would be no time for extra-curricular instruction, and requiring that all classes in all schools, public and private, be taught exclusively in English. 45

MacCaughey was also overheard while "patting the head of the Chinese members of the textbook committee: 'The Japanese are such fretful boys, but you do not complain. You listen to what I say. You are all good boys.'" 46

Soga urged the Japanese community "although this is a matter to be deplored," to accept the regulations, "to weep into silence and drop the entire matter." He noted "the Japanese community is disturbed like a seething cauldron over the proposed retrenchment" of the schools, but an "antagonistic attitude . . . might actually mean their own defeat. . . . Any further opposition, we must remember, brings disadvantage. Our touching word to the Japanese is: 'Wait patiently till the time comes.'" 47

Makino rejected any submission to the regulations he called blatantly unconstitutional and a "high-handed policy of Americans." Soga's worries of further drastic regulations are "a so-called threat to deceive the farmers," Makino wrote:

> It cannot be doubted that certain groups of Americans are utilizing these threatening words to force submission of the Japanese. But it is most ridiculous that there are two or three Japanese who have swallowed up these threatening words and are trying to fight the Japanese. . . . Cut out the bluff! Stop these threatening words! We are tired of hearing the bluff! 48

Makino called for a court challenge to the regulations - a move that would split the Japanese community as deeply as the rift they felt with the Americans. But Makino felt it was time the Americans learn their own lesson in "Americanism:"

> The school curtailment question is pure and simple a question of rights. We are at a crisis wherein we must choose one of the two alternatives: Shall we obey the unconstitutional ruling? Or shall we nullify the unconstitutional ruling? . . . Sons of Japan cannot bear submission. Rather than submission, they prefer to die in honor. 49

War of the Words

Makino whipped up enough support from nine Japanese Language Schools to file a suit on December 28, 1922, in the territorial court challenging the regulations. The number of litigating schools would grow to 87 over the next year as Makino swayed opinions of parents to petition their children's schools to join the fight. The case was handled by Joseph Lightfoot, an attorney who worked with Makino in numerous civil rights campaigns. 50

The court challenge raised the anti-Japanese sentiment in the English-language press to new levels of rancor. The Advertiser called the challenge "seething agitation" and editorially called "Enough of the Language Schools." 51 Publisher Thurston warned, not so subtly, in "A Few Suggestions to the Japanese Residents of Hawaii:"

> "I say most emphatically . . . the fat will be in the fire! . . . This is American territory, dedicated to American principles, controlled by American citizens and it will be

maintained as such, by the full powers of the American nation, against all comers and at all hazards! 52

Thurston continued his "suggestions" in a series of editorials. One created even more animosity when he noted "being in Hawaii not only with our acquiescence but on our invitation, the alien Japanese are our 'guests'. . . . Thurston then lectured the Japanese:

> I would remind you that there are obligations due by a guest to his host. . . . A host is, and of right should be, master in his own house, and a guest has no right, moral or legal, to attempt to regulate the affairs of a household in which he is a guest, nor to refuse to recognize the household customs or regulations of the host. . . . If guests don't like the way the affairs of the household are conducted, they can go home and take their children with them. 53

Thurston then abandoned any pretense of subtlety and wrote:

> . . . I suggest it is bad policy for you to attempt to force your views upon the Americans in this matter, for you have greater and more vital interests in Hawaii than the question of the course of study in the language schools.
> The protection of these interests depends upon the maintenance of conditions of friendship and cooperation between the races. (The court challenge) will, I suggest to you, be most unwise and ultimately injurious to you. 54

Makino shot back in his own editorial, turning Thurston's words back at him. The Japanese, he wrote, are indeed "guests (and) loyal servants of Americans. Therefore we are determined to destroy the school curtailment measure which violates the constitution and is a greater disgrace to America." 55

Thurston said "the wild-eyed Hochi ought to be suppressed" as a "rabid Japanese newspaper" engaged in "a vitriolic campaign of misrepresentation and abuse." 56 He accused it of "pouring a daily stream of poison into the ears of the Japanese community." 57

The Star-Bulletin was less heavy-handed but equally aggressive in its attacks on the Hochi and Japanese language schools for the

court challenge. Riley Allen wrote the island "teems with children whose parents came from Japan" and "the cause of Americanism is most certainly not advanced by the maintenance of distinctly foreign institutions, exerting an alien influence, in American territory." 58

The Nippu Jiji's Soga was just as steadfast in his opposition to the court challenge and to Makino's confrontational stance against the American community. He titled one editorial "Be Calm and Cool" and said in another, "There is no objection to the Japanese community's trying to protest or to ask modification of the rules and regulations . . . but the protest or request must be made in the spirit of cooperation and not through legal channels." 59

Soga called Makino and the litigating language schools "reckless and sentimental . . . unable to see the future," "mercenary" and "fickle." 60 He urged the Japanese community "not to be misled by the agitation in certain sections of the language press." 61 He even apologized in print to Thurston and the Advertiser, saying "it is also true that a certain section of the press has caused embarrassment even to the Japanese themselves," and referred to Makino and the Hochi as "the irresponsible radical element of the Japanese Community." 62

Soga called the Hochi/Language School challenge a dangerous "Ship of Test Case:"

> In our opinion there is nothing more dangerous than Mr. Makino's so-called 'ship of test' case. The ship may reach Washington. . . . The captain of the boat is very unreliable. The chief engineer and other officials of the ship are drunk with *Okolehao* and the ship is liable to strike a rock at any

> moment. . . . It is very risky to give a *masamune* sword to a lunatic. He is likely to do most anything.
> . . . We earnestly plead with Japanese residents in Hawaii not to take passage on the ghost ship and flirt with death which may result from shipwreck. 63

Makino used equally colorful language in lashing out against Soga and the Jiji. He called Soga and his fellow conservatives "who pose as men 'of Japanese countenance and of American heart' and truckle to certain groups of Americans . . . surely canker to the core, a worm in the lion's bosom." Makino described them as "*chorinbo*. They are to be despised" as "men of the principle of rubbing hands (a sign of submission) who look upon themselves as inferior and upon the Americans as their masters." 64

Makino attacked Soga's "Weep Into Silence" stance several times, saying:

> If we weep into silence, being soundly licked, others will think that they can always force us into submission . . . and will haughtily lick us always with unconstitutional laws. If we resist within the limit of the law, they will see the follow of licking. Japanese are not wooden fish. 65

And:

> Men who urge weeping in silence are few in number. We need not bother ourselves with this class of men who are constantly flattering the Americans. 66

Makino wrote Soga's conservative faction were "cowardly" men who "constantly flatter and kowtow" and "must expect to be treated like feeble worms." 67 He called the Jiji a "stupid newspaper and a harmful one, too," and its work "from now on will be to disunite the Japanese in Hawaii. It will carry on all sort of slanderous attempts to incite dissensions. . . . If Nippu Jiji succeeds, it will be a great disgrace to the Japanese." 68

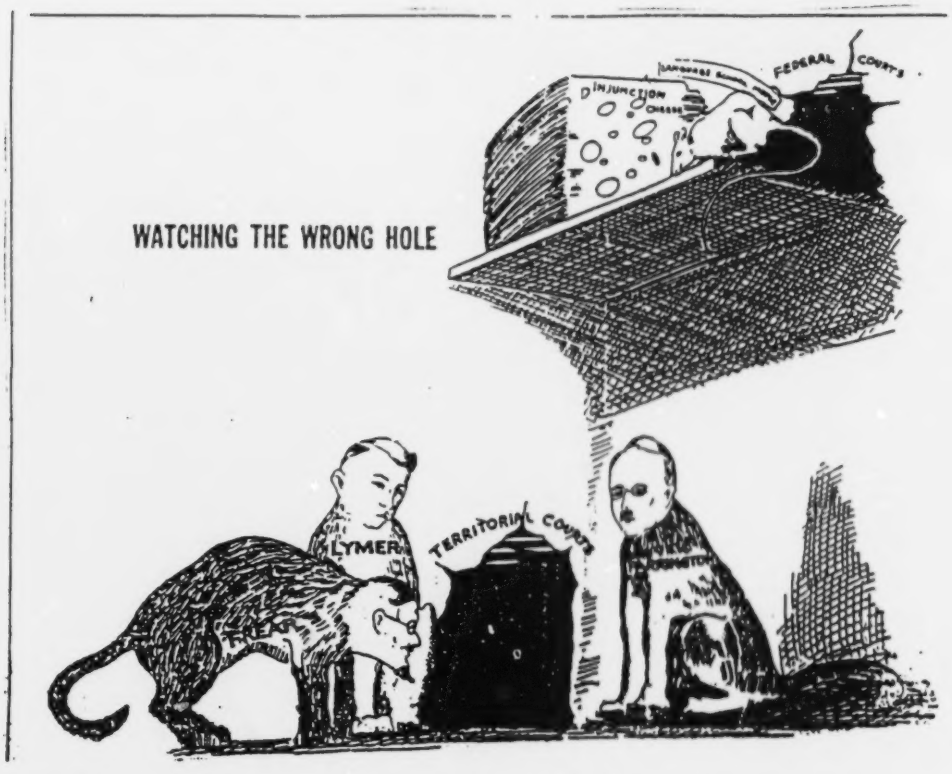
Despite the court challenge to the initial law and regulations, the territorial legislature in 1923 passed an even

more repressive bill, signed into law as Act 171. The new law imposed a $1 a head pupil tax on the schools and put them entirely under the control of the Department of Public Instruction. Soga's Jiji urged support of the new law. But this direct attack on the schools' pocketbooks caused more of them to join the court challenge. An injunction delayed the implementation of Act 171 for those schools involved in the litigation. 69

Makino effectively silenced both the Jiji and the Star-Bulletin when he discovered the two had entered into a business agreement to publish the revised textbooks that would be imposed on the schools if they lost the court challenge. The Star-Bulletin served as publisher of the texts. Since it had no Japanese type foundry, it contracted the printing to the Jiji. Makino wrote:

> God Forbid! It's a Shame! Discovery of a strange and unthinkable secret has been made in regard to the printing and bookbinding of the new textbooks.
>
> The new textbooks which are being printed by the Nippu Jiji at present are not published by the Department of Public Instruction, but they are the profitable speculation of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. No bid has been put out. It is clear that the Nippu Jiji and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin (are) trying their best not to increase the litigating schools so that they will be able to make more profit by selling these books. 70

The Star-Bulletin's manager confirmed the story, saying "If the textbooks are sold, we make a reasonable profit. If they are not, we stand the loss. The acceptance of the proposal (from the school department) was more from a patriotic motive than a desire to make a big profit." The two papers were equal partners in the approximately $30,000 deal. The Jiji was paid its half in advance for the printing. 71



Hawaii Hochi cartoon ridicules governor and attorney general for trying to stifle language schools in the territorial courts while the Hochi and schools sought relief from the federal courts. June 16, 1925.

Makino discovered subsequently that principals of language schools that did not join the court challenge "received payoffs in the form of commissions for drawings and translation fees" from the Department of Public Instruction in the preparation of the textbooks. 72

The Hochi continued to pound away at the Jiji (a "lying pen," 73) and the English-language press, which fell uncharacteristically silent on both the Hochi and the language schools, waiting for a final decision on the challenge that had reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

Language School Victory

The first step in the language school challenge was an injunction to stop the enforcement of the 1922 regulations. The Territorial Circuit Court in 1923 ruled that the provisions to license teachers and approve textbooks were valid, but those that limited attendance to 3rd through 8th grades were not. The ruling was upheld by the Territorial Supreme Court and the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. 74

The case landed in the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled on February 21, 1927:

> . . . the School Act and the measures adopted thereunder go far beyond mere regulation of privately supported schools, where children obtain instruction deemed valuable by their parents and which is not obviously in conflict with any public interest. They give affirmative direction concerning the intimate and essential details of such schools, entrust their control to public officers, and deny both owners and patrons reasonable choice and discretion in respect of teachers, curriculum and text-books. Enforcement of the act probably would destroy most, if not all, of (the schools). . . . The Japanese parent has the right to direct the education of his own child without unreasonable restrictions; the Constitution protects him as well as those who speak another tongue. 75

The high court invalidated the entire Act 30, calling it "a deliberate plan to bring foreign language schools under a strict governmental control for which the record discloses no adequate reason." 76

The Hochi declared the schools' victory "highly gratifying. . . . This is not, however, a victory for the Japanese alone. It is a victory for Americanism and for the principles of constitutional liberty upon which the foundations of our nation and our civilization depend." 77

Makino held out an olive branch, saying "it is time to abandon all feelings of hostility or antagonism and work together in

harmony and cooperation for the benefit of the younger generation." He qualified the offer, however, "provided the cooperation is sought honestly and without the threat of force or the suspicion of sinister and subversive motives." The schools would answer further attempts to restrict or regulate, he warned with his new sense of righteousness "ready to fight the issue again, if necessary, in order to vindicate the principles of Americanism." 78

The Advertiser accepted the branch. Thurston wrote the high court ruling showed "we had no right to do it, and that is that. We used a club - brute force. We said 'You shall not.'" 79

The Star-Bulletin, however, said the issue is "not finished. It appears quite possible to frame legislation that will prevent these alien schools from being run in a manner hostile to American principles, and still keep within the limits of . . . the Constitution." 80

Makino commended the Advertiser for "fair and sportsmanlike acceptance" and lashed out against the Star-Bulletin for "irresponsible jingoism and vindictive fury aptly portrayed. He called editor Riley Allen a "sour-faced little grouch" acting like a "beaten bully." 81

Aftermath: Continuing Battles

The Jiji rejected any rapprochement with the Hochi, continuing to call it the "gutter sheet of Honolulu," a "poison fang" and warning the "joining hands of Hawaii Hochi and the (language) schools will be the cause of an incurable disease to be suffered by the residents." 82

Makino returned the fire, ridiculing the Jiji's "mongrel policy," "vicious propaganda" and "pernicious doctrine of servile docility." He branded the Jiji "a renegade to its own people, seeking to enslave them to false ideas and make them drag their self-respect in the dirt." 83

In an "open letter" to Soga, Makino wrote: "You yourself are guilty of the crime. The magician who made a mess of a purely legal matter, did so in order to make some money by printing textbooks. . . . We are stunned at your stupidity." 84

Soga's outbursts against the Hochi became more vitriolic, but to little effect. The Jiji continued to lose circulation, dropping to about 10,000 as readers switched to the Hochi to ride the wake of the language school victory. The Hochi, at 12,000 readers surpassed the Jiji for the first time and would remain the leading voice in the Japanese community. 85

Makino continued to take on the English-language press, mounting a campaign to investigate the awarding of government printing contracts to them without bids. 86

Ironically, although both were aliens who were unable to become American citizens, it was the conciliatory Soga who was interned by the U.S. government during World War II. The aggressive and confrontational Makino was allowed to stay at the helm of the Hochi.

Soga had traditionally shown deference to the Japanese imperial family and its representatives in Hawaii. Makino, on the other hand, openly disdained both the imperialistic policies of the Japanese government and the haughtiness of its officials. He

refused to be in the same company with the Japanese Consul-General and once openly insulted a visiting dignitary he felt denigrated the local Japanese. 87

One the day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, which was also the Hochi's 29th anniversary, Makino wrote: "This is *our* war, and we must fight until the end. Regardless of nationality, race or ethnicity, we the people of Hawaii must swear allegiance to the United States." 88

U.S. military authorities put Hawaii under martial law during the war but allowed the continued publication of both Japanese papers - under censorship - as the most effective way to communicate with Hawaii's Japanese citizens. The papers were required to Americanize their nameplates - the Jiji became the Hawaii Times and the Hochi the Hawaii Herald. 89

Soga returned from internment as an editor emeritus, but his influence had waned. He died in 1949. In 1982 the Jiji/Times published its last daily edition and became a weekly. In 1985 it folded. 90

Makino's health faltered in the post-war years. He died in 1953, a year after returning his paper's nameplate to the original Hawaii Hochi. The Hochi continues as Hawaii's only Japanese-language daily newspaper. It also began a semi-monthly English-language tabloid, the Hawaii Herald, to serve the sansei and yonsei (third and fourth) generations in Hawaii's Japanese community. 91

The language issue continued in Hawaii, though a "Speak English" campaign during World War II, a post-war attempt to isolate certain public schools exclusively for speakers of

"standard English" and contemporary debates about the use of localized "pidgin" English in the schools. 92

Currently there are 27 language schools in Hawaii serving about 2,000 students. 93

Notes

Note on Translations: Quotations from the *Hawaii Hochi*, *Hawaii Nippo* and *Nippu Jiji* are taken from the editorials in their respective English-language sections, or from translations of Japanese-language editorials each provided under order to the Territorial Attorney General and now on file in the Hawaii State Archives.

1. *Nippu Jiji*, August 18, 1922.

2. *Hawaii Hochi*, November 19, 1922.

3. *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 6, 1923.

4. Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaii, 1885-1924* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1985), p. 147.

5. Helen G. Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From 'He Liona' to the Pacific Cable," *Hawaiian Journal Of History*, No. 18 (1984), p. 75.

6. Shunzo Sakamaki, "A History of the Japanese Press In Hawaii," Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1928, p. 11.

7. See generally Chapin and Sakamaki. Also: Yasutaro Soga, "The Japanese Press of Hawaii," *Pan-Pacific*, April-June 1937, pp. 13-15; Shigehiko Shiramizu, "The Good Old Days of the Press: Two Great Men in the Japanese Community," Paper presented to Hawaii Newspaper Project Reporter, East-West Center, Hawaii, February 22, 1986; and Ernest Wakukawa, "The Japanese Press and Periodicals in Hawaii," in *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Toyo Shoin, 1938), pp. 326-335.

8. Roland Kotani, "The Makino Legacy," *The Hawaii Herald*, September 3, 1982, p. 6. Also: Sakamaki, pp. 104-5; and Shiramizu, p. 3.

9. Odo, pp. 195-200.

10. *Fred Kinzaburo Makino: A Biography*, 75th Anniversary Publication of the *Hawaii Hochi*, 1987, pp. 1-2.

11. Odo, p. 199.

12. Ben Asakura, "The Samurai Editor and the Birth of 'The Garden Island;'" and "Sometaro Sheba: The Samurai Journalist," *The Garden Island*, November 10, 1980, p. 1 and November 12, 1980, p. 1.

13. Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 184.

14. *Hawaii Hochi*, Dec. 7, 1912.

15. See generally Kotani and Shiramizu; Also: Arnold Beekman, "Japanese-Language Press of Hawaii, What Now?" *Pacific Citizen*, December 23, 1983, p. B19.

16. Shiramizu, p. 7.

17. Office of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior. *A Survey of Education in Hawaii*. Bulletin No. 16. 1920. p. 107.

18. Ibid. p. 114.

19. *Hawaii Hochi*, cited by Sakamaki, p. 93.

20. Riley H. Allen. "Education and Race Problems in Hawaii." *The American Review of Reviews*. Dec. 1921, p. 613.

21. Department of Public Instruction, Territory of Hawaii. *The Japanese Language School*. October, 1919.

22. Lorrin A. Thurston, *The Language School Question*, private monograph published by the *Honolulu Advertiser*, 1920. p. 5; Also: Odo, pp 128-130; Kotani, p. 4; Beekman, p. B19.

23. Allen, pp. 617-18.

24. Thurston, p. 5

25. Shiramizu, p. 2.

26. Allen, p. 616.

27. Office of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior, *A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, p. 134.

28. Act 30, S.L. 1920; Territory of Hawaii, Department of Public Instruction, *Official Circular of Information Relating to Private Schools and to Licensing of Teachers*, March 1, 1921. Besides requiring the department's approval of texts, the act also made clear the language schools would have to pay for their own books.

29. *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 5, 1921.

30. *Nippu Jiji*, March 2, 1921.

31. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 13, 1921.

32. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 6, 1921.

33. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 13, 1921.

34. *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 15, 1920.

35. Japanese Educational Association of Hawaii, *A Brief Survey of the Foreign Language School Question*, (Honolulu: Nippu Jiji, 1923).

36. *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 25, 1922.

37. Department of Public Instruction, Territory of Hawaii, *Book V, Japanese Language School*, 1925.

38. *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 29, 1922.

39. Japanese Educational Association of Hawaii, pp 2-3, 8-10.

40. *Nippu Jiji*, June 23, 1922.

41. *Hawaii Nippo*, June 22, 1922.

42. *Nippu Jiji*, August 18, 1922; and Japanese Educational Association, pp. 18-19.

43. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 15, 1922.

44. Territory of Hawaii, Department of Public Instruction, *Regulations Regarding Foreign Language Schools*, Nov. 18, 1922.

45. The MacCaughey to Farrington confidential memo is contained in the papers of Prof. Karl C. Leebrick of the University of Hawaii, held by the Hawaii State Archives. Leebrick was an American member of the language school committee and a close advisor to MacCaughey. Leebrick also corresponded with the Sacramento Bee's V.S. V.S. McClatchy, an outspoken opponent of Japanese Language Schools in California.

46. *Nippu Jiji*, August 22, 1922.

47. *Nippu Jiji*, August 11, 1922.

48. *Hawaii Hochi*, November 18, 1922.

49. Ibid.

50. *Hawaii Hochi*, February 21, 1937.

51. *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 19, 1922; August 13, 1922.

52. *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 20, 1922.

53. *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 25, 1922.

54. Ibid.

55. *Hawaii Hochi*, Nov. 27, 1922.

56. *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 21, 1923.

57. *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 1, 1922.

58. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 8, 1922; July 21, 1922.

59. *Nippu Jiji*, August 8, 1922; October 3, 1922.

60. Ibid.

61. *Nippu Jiji*, November 21, 1922.

62. *Nippu Jiji*, December 2, 1922; December 6, 1922.

63. *Nippu Jiji*, January 9, 1923.

64. *Hawaii Hochi*, November 19, 1922.

65. *Hawaii Hochi*, November 20, 1922.

66. *Hawaii Hochi*, November 22, 1922.

67. *Hawaii Hochi*, December 8, 1922; April 20, 1923; November 29, 1922.

68. *Hawaii Hochi*, June 4, 1925; April 21, 1923.

69. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 5, 1923; *Nippu Jiji*, March 6, 1923; *Hawaii Hochi*, March 20, 1923.

70. *Hawaii Hochi*, August 21, 1923.

71. *Hawaii Hochi*, August 23, 1923.

72. *Hawaii Hochi*, June 13, 1925.

73. *Hawaii Hochi*, August 4, 1925.

74. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 3, 1923; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 8, 1925; *Hawaii Hochi*, March 23, 1926.

75. Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284, 47 S. Ct. 406, 1927.

76. Ibid.

77. *Hawaii Hochi*, February 21, 1927.

78. *Hawaii Hochi*, February 23, 1927.

79. *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 22, 1927.

80. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 22, 1927.

81. *Hawaii Hochi*, February 23, 1927.

82. *Nippu Jiji*, March 16, 1927; March 14, 1927; March 13, 1927.

83. *Hawaii Hochi*, March 15, 1927.

84. *Hawaii Hochi*, February 24, 1927.

85. Shiramizu, p. 7.

86. *Hawaii Hochi*, April 7, 1927.

87. Kotani, pp. 5,17.

88. *Hawaii Hochi*, December 8, 1941.

89. Jim Richstad, "The Press Under Martial Law: The Hawaiian Experience," *Journalism Monographs*, 17 (November 1970): 18-23; Also: Shiramizu, p. 13.

90. Shiramizu, p. 13.

91. *Fred Kinzaburo Makino*, pp. 4-6; Roland Kotani, "Hawaii Hochi - Future Directions," *Hawaii Herald*, October 1, 1982, pp. 6,19.

92. *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 27, 1987.

93. S. Sanae Tokumura, Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii, interview with author December 16, 1991.

Viewing the Newspaper as International: The First International Organization of Journalists Debates News Copyright 1894-1898

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Presented to the International Communication Division of AEJMC, at the Convention in Montreal, Quebec, August 1992.

In 1894, a Belgian newspaperman told the first international meeting of journalists that the press of the world was in the midst of "a transformation" that was resulting in "a kind of reciprocal penetration from country to country." Consequently, Gaston Berardi of the Independance Belge thought the time was ripe for international action in the interest of journalism.[1]

As a rule, national borders have defined the study of journalism history.[2] Despite its title, even Anthony Smith's pioneering international newspaper history largely settles for a country-by-country approach to its subject, letting the reader make the comparisons.[3] Yet, as the few historical studies attempting a wider perspective show, the development of the mass media across nations is not a modern phenomenon dictated by advanced communication technologies such as satellites. From the invention of the printing press on, ideas, forms and innovations flowed between countries, particularly where economic, political and social development was similar.[4]

Studying the international dimension of that

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[1]Gaston Berardi, "De la propriété des informations en matière de Presse," Ier Congrès International de la Presse (1894-Anvers), Renseignements Procés-Verbaux des Seances et Discours Communiqués (Antwerp: J.-E. Buschman, 1894), 75.

[2]A standard work like Emery and Emery, for instance, discusses the English roots of the American press but then says little about the development of newspapers outside the United States; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (5th ed., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1988).

[3]Smith, The Newspaper: An International History (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979).

[4]Mitchell Stephens, A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

development, scholars have taken different paths, ranging from looking at influences on one country by another to making historical comparisons of different national systems.[5] This paper proposes a third way of studying the development of mass media as an international phenomenon. It examines the deliberations of the organization that Berardi addressed, the International Congress of the Press, and what those discussions revealed about the exchange of ideas and concepts between nations.[6]

The proceedings of the ICP reveal a forum for debate, similar to the magazines, journals and newspaper editorials used in recent historical studies of how the American press was viewed and how it viewed itself.[7]

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[5]Examples of the "influence" approach is found in Marion Marzolf, "Pioneers of 'New Journalism' in Early 20th Century Scandinavia," Pressens Årsbog 1982; Joel Wiener, ed., Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), xviii; Emily Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 36-37; Leonore O'Boyle best exemplifies the comparative method, O'Boyle, "The Image of the Journalist in France, Germany and England, 1815-1848" Comparative Studies in Society and History 10 (1968):290-317.

[6]The name of the organization varies with different sources, but, for purposes of consistency, this paper elected to use a direct translation of its French name, Congrès international de la Presse, abbreviated ICP; strictly speaking, the name of the organization was the International Union of Press Associations (IUPA) rather than the ICP, but with the exception of its Central Bureau, the IUPA cannot be said to have existed between meetings; for that reason, the name ICP is used here.

[7]Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Jeffrey Rutenbeck, "Toward a History of the Ideologies of Partisanship and Independence in American Journalism," Journal of Communication Inquiry 15 (2, summer 1991):126-40; proceedings used in this research are for the meetings of 1894-99 and 1907; in addition, extensive pre-Congress material such as reports were located for 1900, 1902, 1904 and 1914, while briefer official documents such as agendas were found for 1905, 1908, 1910 and 1911; libraries in the United States, Sweden and France were useful for obtaining the proceedings of individual years; the most complete collection, however, is in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm; newspaper coverage was found for all Congresses between 1894 and 1914, particularly in the newspapers of two Congress executives, Johan Janzon of Stockholms Dagblad (Stockholm) and

Moreover, the proceedings provide the researcher with what is, in effect, an already defined international perspective, since they were the records of a forum that saw itself transcending national borders; on its agenda were placed items that were considered of concern to many nations.

The focus of the study, the ICP discussion of copyright protection for newspapers, further suggests an international dimension, since bringing it up on the multinational level shows the existence of a flow of information and ideas between countries. Most of that discussion was carried out between 1894 and 1898, and its results were meager in terms of legislation. The main reason for studying it here is not its bearing on mass media law (although it is worth noting that the ICP solution preceded that of the United States by some 20 years) but its revelations about the newspapers that Congress participants represented. As will be seen in the discussion over intellectual property, delegates' arguments had their basis in clearly stated assumptions about the nature of the press. Before turning to the debate itself, however, it is necessary to provide first an assessment of the state of the world's newspapers in the 1890s and second a brief history of the organization that gave rise to it.

The Commercialization of the Newspaper

Berardi's theme of change in the world's press was one that was frequently brought up at ICP meetings, both in the discussion of copyright and elsewhere.[8] Looking back,

Adrien Hébrard of Le Temps (Paris); in the British press, the ICP was covered enthusiastically and comprehensively until 1909 by Grace Benedicta Stuart in The Athenæum; finally, the journal, occasional messages and official correspondence of the Swedish circle of journalists, Publicistklubben, contains material about the ICP and is particularly useful as proof of the organization's struggles following World War I; as to secondary sources, the Congress has received little attention from historians; for a brief and desultory assessment, see Jiri Kubka and Kaarle Nordenstreng, "The shaping of International Cooperation: From the 1880s to the 1940s," in Kubka and Nordenstreng, Useful Recollections, Part I (Prague: IOJ, 1986), 44-50.

[8]See, for instance, the preamble to an 1898 report on

historians have described those changes under the term commercialization, which Harry Christian's study of the British press sees as including the shift from individual to corporate ownership, the ascendancy of advertising as the main source of revenue rather than subscriptions and political subsidies, and the division of labor separating journalists from newspaper proprietorship.[9] With these structural changes came changes in newspaper content and function, such as a stress on gathering and publishing news and taking a largely nonpolitical stance.[10]

Due to varying levels of industrial development and, to some degree, differing political and cultural traditions, press commercialization occurred at different times in different countries. The United States led the development with the appearance of the New York penny press in the 1830s, followed by Great Britain, where the first "popular papers" appeared in the 1850s, and France, where they were in evidence ten years later. The press of other European nations assumed the characteristics of commercialization in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[11]

Journalists at the time were conscious of the process of commercialization and also acknowledged that its progress varied between countries. America's lead was generally acknowledged; in a 1901-02 book, British New Journalism pioneer W.T. Stead claimed that journalism was being "Americanized."[12] Among Americans, E.L. Godkin was

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journalism education, Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès international de la Presse, Lisbonne, 1898 (Bordeaux: Imprimiere G. Gounouilhou, 1899), 126.

[9]Christian, "Journalists' Occupational Ideologies and Press Commercialisation," in Christian, ed., The Sociology of Journalism and the Press, Sociological Review Monograph 20 (University of Keele, 1980), 260-62.

[10]Marzolf, 132-33.

[11]Marzolf, 132; Smith sees France as possessing a mass press before any other country in Europe, but it is unclear whether he includes Britain as part of the continent; Smith, 114-130.

[12]Stead, The Americanization of the World (New York: Horace

not altogether convinced that the world's journalism was going in the right direction, but he thought that the American press of 1890 was well ahead of the press of France, which in his view did not consist of newspapers at all.[13] The trade publication The Fourth Estate, on the other hand, had no doubts that the American journalistic lead was anything but beneficial. If foreign journalists were to meet in the United States, the journal claimed in 1896, they would be able to witness "newspaper making in its highest perfection."[14]

As there were differences between the United States and European nations, there were also different levels of development within Europe. Discussing the newspapers of Italy in 1868, the American weekly The Nation unceremoniously dismissed them as "stupid" and well behind not only American but also British, French and German papers[15] Although there were evidence of press commercialization in most European countries when the First International Congress of the Press met in 1894, the differences between countries would at times surface in the organization's debates.[16] Still, ICP delegates more often spoke from a common experience of newspapers that were changing in the same direction.

To journalists like Berardi and others, the transformation was most evident in newspaper content, which was shifting from "polemics" to "news."[17] Throughout the

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Markley, 1901, 1902); see also Rosenberg, 36-37.

[13]Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," North American Review 60 (1890):197-204.

[14]The Fourth Estate, May 14, 1896, 6.

[15]"The Daily Press in Italy," The Nation, Feb. 13, 1868, 129.

[16]Smith (143-44) sees the 1880s and the 1890s as the definite breakthrough for the popular press.

[17]Compte rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès, 126; Stephens (253-58) notes an increasing "veneration of the fact" in the 19th century, but his examples are American (overwhelmingly) and British; later on(264), he claims that "European" journalists only now are

history of journalism, the two functions had to some extent coexisted, but in the 1890s, the latter was gaining ascendancy.[18] Consequently, the world's journalists had to adapt both their professional behavior and their demands on society to new conditions. One way they chose to do that was by forming the world's first international organization of journalists.

The History and Membership of the Congress

The idea of regular international meetings and a permanent international organization of journalists was first brought up at an 1893 meeting of British, French and Belgian journalists, arranged by Britain's Institute of Journalists. After their British hosts indicated an interest in the idea, the guests from across the Channel went ahead with organizing a full-scale international conference at the international exposition at Antwerp the following year.[19] At that meeting, calls for a permanent organization were placed on the agenda by the Parisian Journalists Association and the Foreign Press Club of Vienna, and the Antwerp Congress subsequently voted to accept the principle of international association and appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for the organization and present it at the next Congress meeting, in Bordeaux in 1895.[20] Discussed at the second Congress, the constitution was

beginning to accept the idea; the French dominance in the copyright discussion suggests otherwise.

[18]Early examples of newspapers with primarily commercial purposes abound in Stephens, for instance.

[19]G.B. Stuart, "The Press Congress at Antwerp," The Athenæum, July 21, 1894, 96-97; Herbert Cornish, "Something Very Short about the Institute of Journalists," The Journalist, April 25, 1903, 14; "Presskongressen i Antwerpen," Dagens Nyheter, July 9, 1894, 3.

[20]Le Bureau Central des Associations de Presse (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900), 1-6; "Pressföreningar," Nordisk Familjebok Konversationslexikon och Realencyklopedi, Vol. 22 (Stockholm: Nordisk Familjeboks Förlags Aktiebolag, 1915), 187; Ier Congrès international de la Presse, 5-7.

finally adopted at the third meeting, in Budapest in 1896. The result was the establishment of annual international congresses of the press under the auspices of the International Union of Press Associations, which was to have a central bureau in Paris.[21]

Fifteen more meetings were held by the Congress in the next 22 years, annually throughout the 1890s, less regularly after the turn of the century.[22] Not surprisingly, World War I disrupted the activities of the ICP, and the conflict was to cast a long shadow over attempts to revive the organization in the 1920s. As one of the founding nations, France led the efforts to resume the activities of the Congress, but disagreement on the issue of admitting the former Central Powers as members meant that little progress was made, and not until 1927 did the ICP meet again. Four more meetings followed, but the organization never achieved the prominence it had enjoyed before the war, and it held its last congress in 1936.[23]

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[21]Compte rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès international de la Presse, Budapest 1896 (Bordeaux: Imprimiere G. Gounouilhou, 1897), 3-4; Compte rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès international de la Presse, Stockholm 1897 (Bordeaux: Imprimiere G. Gounouilhou, 1898), 3-4; "An International Press Confederation," The Fourth Estate, March 7, 1895, 2; same, in The Journalist, March 2, 1895, 5; Spada, "Den internationella presskomitén," Stockholms Dagblad, June 9, 1895, 2.

[22]After Antwerp, Bordeaux and Budapest, the ICP met in Stockholm (1897), Lisbon (1898), Rome (1899), Paris (1900), Berne (1902), Vienna (1904), Liege (1905), Bordeaux (1907), Berlin (1908), London (1909), Trieste (1910), Rome (1911), and Copenhagen (1914); Bibliotèque Nationale, Departement des Periodiques, Catalogue collectif des Periodiques du Debut du XVII Siecle a 1939, vol. 2 (Paris: Bibliotèque Nationale, 1973), 223; the Congresses of 1901 and 1903 were canceled because the Central Bureau thought that the host cities under consideration, Glasgow and St. Louis, respectively, were too remote; other practical problems caused cancellations in 1906, 1912 and 1913; G.B. Stuart, "The International Press Congress Movement Abroad and at Home," The Athenæum, March 29, 1902, 400; Stuart, "Abandonment of the Press Congress in St. Louis," The Athenæum, May 2, 1903; G.B. Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," The Athenæum, April 21, 1906, 481-82; Meddelanden från Publicistklubben (Feb. 23, 1913, 5; Feb. 24, 1914, 7.

[23]The French struggles to revive the ICP are evident in the

Despite some participation by representatives from outside Europe, the Congress was essentially a European organization. Of nations of other continents, Brazil, Mexico, Japan, Egypt, and New Zealand were each represented at only one Congress between 1894 and 1900, while Argentinian and Turkish delegates attended two meetings.[24] Journalists from the United States took part more regularly, but their delegations were small, indicating a limited American interest in the movement. Further evidence of that limited interest was that the American journalist organizations listed as affiliates of the ICP were local clubs and immigrant press associations rather than national bodies such as the National Editorial Association and the American Newspaper Publishers Association.[25] U.S. interest flared up when it seemed possible that the Congress would meet in St. Louis in 1903 but died down when that plan came to nothing.[26]

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communication of the organization with Publicistklubben, see Meddelanden från Publicistklubben, Feb. 15, 1922, 11-12; Feb. 15, 1923; Feb. 15, 1924, 25; Feb. 15, 1927, 7; see also Kubka and Nordenstreng, 49; post-war meetings were eventually held in London (1927), Barcelona (1929), Oslo (1932), Antwerp (1934), and Prague (1936); Bibliotèque Nationale, Departement des Periodiques, Catalogue collectif des Periodiques, 223.

[24]Participation is based on delegate lists from in the proceedings of 1894-1900.

[25]At Paris in 1900, the Congress that saw the largest number of American delegates, the United States was represented by the National-Verband Deutsch-Amerikanischer Journalisten und Schriftsteller and the press clubs of Boston, Pittsburg and San Francisco; VIIe Congrès International des Associations de Presse (Paris 1900), Liste des Membres du Comité de Direction du Bureau central et des Delegués au VII Congrès (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900), 27; American press coverage of the meetings was also scant: the New York Times mentioned only one meeting, that of 1894, while the New York Tribune mentioned two, 1894 and 1899; see New York Times, July 8, 1894, 10; New York Tribune, July 8, 1894, 5; April 21, 1899, 7; the trade press was a little more attentive and even advocated American participation in and leadership of the movement, The Fourth Estate, Oct. 4, 1894, 4; July 26, 1894, 7; March 7, 1895, 2; Sept. 12, 1895, 1; May 14, 1896, 6; April 27, 1899, 1-2; June 16, 1900, 7; Sept. 1, 1900, 4. The Journalist, June 16, 1894, 4; March 2, 1895, 5.

Even within Europe, some nations were only marginal Congress participants. The Balkans were represented only at the 1900 Paris meeting, for instance, and although Russian participation was more regular, delegations from that country were smaller than those from the United States. Great Britain presented a special case. Having conceived the idea of international meetings together with French and Belgian colleagues, British journalists became leery of the permanent union approved by the ICP, and in 1896, the Institute of Journalists withdrew from participation in the movement.[27] The formation of a new organization, the British International Association of Journalists, by Institute members ensured a degree of British participation in the ICP after 1896, but BIAJ membership never exceeded a few hundred.[28] The organization really representing the journalists of Great Britain was absent from all meetings of the ICP in the years before World War I and did not to take part again until 1932.[29]

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[26]The Journalist, Dec. 13, 1902, 85-86; Feb. 7, 1903, 207-09; March 7, 1903, 256; March 14, 1903, 268; The Editor and Publisher, Jan. 24, 1903, 8.

[27]G.B. Stuart, "International Congress of the Press," The Athenæum, Sept. 28, 1895, 419; G.B. Stuart, "The International Federation of the Press," The Athenæum, May 2, 1896, 583-84; "The Congress of the Press," The Athenæum, July 11, 1896, 66; Compte Rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès, 23, 47-48; British objections to the ICP concerned the possible jurisdiction of the international organization over British associations and obligations to assist foreign journalists in Britain.

[28]G.B. Stuart, "Some International Press Courtesies," The Athenæum, July 24, 1897, 130; G.B. Stuart, "The International Congress of the Press and the Institute of Journalists," The Athenæum, Jan. 17, 1903, 83.

[29]"Grannländerna," Pressens Tidning, No.12, June 15, 1932, 4; in 1903, the Institute of Journalists decided to take part again in 1903, but its attitude was hesitant and nothing concrete resulted; consequently, a Congress meeting held in London in 1909 was arranged by the International Association rather than the Institute; Stuart, "The International Congress of the Press and the Institute of Journalists"; "International Conference of the Press," Times, Sept. 24, 1909, 11; G. B. Stuart, "International Conference of the Press," The Athenæum, Aug. 7, 1909, 154-55.

Neither the ensuing organizational problems nor the limited participation by some nations was evident when the International Press Congress met for the first time in 1894, however, to discuss, among other things, copyright protection for newspapers.

The Issue of Copyright: Background and Introduction

At the Antwerp Congress, the matter of copyright was the second point on the agenda, preceded only by the discussion of how to make the organization permanent.[30] It was not a new concern, because it had surfaced first in an international context in the mid-19th century and had been formalized on a multilateral basis in the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works of 1886.[31]

The eight-year-old treaty gave little protection to newspapers. Only clearly expressed prohibition by an author or editor could stop the republication of an article by a newspaper or periodical in another country, and prohibition did not under any circumstances apply to articles discussing political matters and to news.[32] In that emphasis, the convention reflected the legislation of individual countries in the 1890s, where protection of newspaper content, to the extent that it was mentioned at all, applied almost exclusively to fiction.[33] In practically all countries,

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[30]The other points were libel and right of response; facilitation of newspaper distribution and establishment of telegraph services between papers; definitions of a professional journalist; journalism education; and establishment of an international employment service; Ier Congrès International de la Press, 5-6.

[31]Berardi, 75; on the international development of copyright, see Edward W. Ploman and L. Clark Hamilton, Copyright: Intellectual Property in the Information Age (London: Routledge & kegan Paul, 1980), 19-21, 50-51.

[32]Reprinted in Ernest Röthlisberger, "De la proprieté litteraire et artistique en matière de presse," 8me Congrès International de la Presse, Rapports, Berne 1902 (Paris: G. Camproger, 1904), appendix III.

reproduction of newspaper articles could not be prohibited, although the laws of several nations stipulated that the original source had to be given.[34] Following the ratification of the Berne Convention, the International Literary and Artistic Association, responsible for initiating the treaty, had repeatedly passed resolutions stressing a continued copyright exemption for news, except possibly for articles that had "the exceptional character of a literary work."[35]

To Gaston Berardi, who presented a report on the issue to the first International Congress of the Press, the Berne Convention and national legislation fell far short. Removing news from any kind of protection against copying was preposterous, he thought:

> A newspaper will ensure itself, at great expense, of fresh literary, political and scientific works, of foreign correspondence, of news collected and edited for it; it will ensure itself of the assistance of esteemed contributors, it will assemble all the elements that constitute its personal physiognomy; and... its property right, its right of priority, will not go beyond its first edition! And a competitor who will make no expense, take no initiative... has the right to draw from this common fount, to appropriate this acquired value and take advantage of it by offering it to the public, at a low price or for free, to the detriment of its proper owner? [36]

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[33]For a country-by-country review of legislation, see "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille sur la protection de la propriete litteraire en matière de presse," Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès), 74-79.

[34]Two exceptions were Great Britain and the United States, where the status of newspapers was uncertain; courts and legislation seemed to indicate a measure of copyright for the entire paper, but where journalists were uncertain as to the extent of that protection; see " Aaron Watson, "On Copyright, or the Protection of Literary Property," Ier Congrès International de la Presse, 86-87; "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 87.

[35]"Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 80-81.

[36]Berardi, 77.

Berardi recognized that a newspaper certainly was "a work of propaganda," devoted to spreading ideas and that copyright protection should not infringe on that function. Equally important, however, was that it was a commercial enterprise that frequently was threatened by competitors basing their existence on "the methodical pillage of newspapers with special contributors, recognized correspondents, exclusive news."[37]

To Berardi, existing legislation was faulty because it did not recognize a change in both readership and newspapers. Most readers of the 1890s cared not for the literary form of articles but only about "the factual, the recent, about fast and detailed reports, about that which, in one word, goes under a general heading: news." To that end, to be "promptly, exactly, completely informed has become the goal of the entire press, the task of each hour, and it is to that task that press devotes its best efforts and its heaviest material sacrifices."[38] The press had been helped in this enterprise by new technologies such as the telegraph and the telephone, but they had also made it easier for those who published newspapers edited by "amateurs and laborers holding scissors" to pilfer from competitors.

The implied assumption of existing legislation that news items represented less effort than a literary article was wrong, he asserted, because a "laconic telegram" often hid considerable enterprise and expense. To protect that effort, Berardi proposed new legislation that would extend intellectual property right to telegrams; it already existed in the colonies of some European powers, where telegram recipients were guaranteed exclusive post-publication use for a set number of hours.[39] He also advocated the

[37]Berardi, 78.

[38]Berardi, 78.

[39]Such laws existed in New Zealand and South Africa, for instance; Röthlisberger, 11.

formation of an international society that would relieve individual newspapers of the burden of policing news piracy.[40]

Reception to his report was mixed, reflecting that not all journalists agreed with their Belgian colleague's perception of a changing press increasingly dedicated to news gathering. A Parisian journalist refused to see a news item as the fruit of intellectual labor similar to a literary work and considered it common property once it was published.[41]

A majority of the speakers, however, favored extending copyright to news, but defining the character of news presented a problem. Asked to specify what qualities of news that would enjoy protection, Berardi held forth that a generally proclaimed fact, such as the death of a famous writer, could not be protected. Facts that were the results of individual journalistic enterprise, however, such as a detailed description of the deathbed, would enjoy protection.[42] Seeking to codify Berardi's definition in a resolution, a Swiss delegate wanted to amend the Belgian's proposal and exempt from protection "the briefly edited news item that only announces a fact," as contrasted to "the item creating a value through its personal character."[43] Rejecting that proposal, delegates instead chose to fault existing international treaties for not acknowledging the property right in news and call for a thorough study of the legislation of member countries, to be presented at the following Congress. Berardi's more direct proposals were disregarded, and his involvement in the copyright issue was minimal after the first Congress.

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[40]Berardi, 81.

[41]Ier Congrès International de la Presse, 28.

[42]Ier Congrès International de la Presse, 29.

[43]Ier Congrès International de la Presse, 50.

The Issue Takes Shape, 1895-97

No report was presented at the 1895 meeting in Bordeaux, but copyright nevertheless became the subject of animated discussion.[44] In the absence of Berardi, Albert Bataille, of the Paris newspaper Figaro, stepped in to deliver a brief report, marking the beginning of a personal involvement that was to last until his death in 1899. Echoing his Belgian colleague's view of a changing press, Bataille thought the issue had come to a head due to major changes in the press. The "romantic" era of journalism was over, perhaps to the chagrin of some journalists, and the reading public now demanded "speed and certainty in news."[45] Newspapers had responded to these demands by expending both effort and money to obtain telegraphic news. Repeating another of Berardi's conclusions, Bataille dismissed the idea that news was public property the moment it was published, and he didn't consider citation of the source a mitigating factor.[46] Again, it was not a question of protecting the announcement of a general fact, only "the details that make it stand out and have an undeniably personal character."[47]

In the year that had passed between the two congresses, opposition had been building to the view of the newspaper primarily as a commercial vehicle of information. Setting a pattern that was to prevail for the next few years, dissent was most evident within the French delegation, where many speakers would give news no protection whatsoever after publication; indeed, said one of them, you might as well try to "capture the air or veil the day," since news, like air and light belonged to all the world. [48] Facts themselves were worth nothing, "the

[44]Spada (Johan Janzon), "Presskongressen i Bordeaux," Stockholms Dagblad, Sept. 26, 1895, 5.

[45]"Le Congrès de la presse," Le Temps (Paris), Sept. 19, 1895, 3.

[46]"Le Congrès de la presse."

[47]Compte Rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès International de la Presse, Bordeaux 1895 (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1896), 40.

philosophy of facts," everything.[49]

Others doubted that new legislation was the best path. Dissecting the content of newspapers, Paris editor Adrien Hébrard thought signed articles already were protected by the law of copyright. The second category, articles without clear literary value but considered the specialty of a certain paper, would best be protected by the intervention of journalism organizations, like the ones proposed the previous year by Berardi. "Pure and simple news," finally, should not be formally protected, but the source should be given if an item was copied. The penalty for systematic pilfering should be the condemnation and disrespect of one's journalistic colleagues, not the intervention of the law.[50]

Awaiting the report commissioned by the previous Congress, the 1895 meeting had discussed the issue of property rights without passing any resolutions on the issue, and the continued absence of the report at the 1896 Congress meant that debate was postponed another year. The delegates at Budapest did pass a resolution, however, regretting that no journalism association had been asked to take part in the International Literary Conference meeting the same year in Paris.[51]

The Paris conference was of interest to journalists, because it was charged with revising the Berne Convention. Whether it was due to the absence of newspaper representatives or not, the results were not favorable to the efforts of the International Congress of the Press. As before, no protection was given to political articles and news, and, rather than widening protection for other kinds of newspaper content, the revised treaty seemed to narrow

[48]Compte Rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès, 40.

[49]"Le Congrès de la presse."

[50]Compte Rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès, 40.

[51]Compte Rendu des Travaux du 3me Congrès, 33.

it, concentrating on serialized novels and short stories.[52] The only change along the lines demanded by the ICP was a requirement that the original source be indicated when an article was copied.

A Resolution of the Issue

The work of the Paris Conference was duly noted when the commission charged with studying property rights presented its long-awaited report at the third International Congress of the Press, in Stockholm in 1897. Bataille, himself a lawyer as well as a journalist, had been joined by Albert Osterrieth, a German jurist specializing in copyright, and the two had produced a massive document, which included a comparison of the legislation of major countries, a compilation of the relevant statutes of member nations, opinions solicited from national journalism associations and texts of pertinent international treaties.[53]

Osterrieth and Bataille found little or no protection for news in the legislation of individual countries, a lack which they, like Berardi, saw as the result of an obsolete view of the press. Free rights of copy had been excellently suited to an era where the main goal of the press was to "spread the ideas of a political party or the esthetic ideas of a school," they claimed, but such a view of the press was no longer true:

> Today, one must recognize that the newspapers have become industrial enterprises, in the sense that each paper,

[52]Röthlisberger, appendix III; judging from an account of the Paris Conference discussion, news was mentioned only at one point, by the Italian delegation, which denied it any copyright protection; see "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 79-80; as representatives of the ICP, Bataille and Osterrieth claimed to have received a sympathetic hearing before the International artistic and Literary Association at its meetings in 1896 and 1897, but no new legislation resulted; "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 88-90.

[53]For Bataille's background, see the obituary in Pressen, No. 5, March 10, 1899, 3; on Osterrieth, see Meyers Grosses Konversations-Lexikon, vol. 15 (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1909), 215.

> although it may well defend and propagate certain ideas, is founded on material interests and financial plans. Today's newspaper is conceived on the idea of informing the public as fast as possible... The task of collecting all this news and assure oneself of experienced and steady contributors carries with it considerable expense, which may be recouped by having the public appreciate the advantage of exactness and promptness of news... It is thus of considerable interest for each newspaper proprietor that the ownership of articles published by him is strictly respected and that other journals do not divert his clientele and steal it.[54]

Noting, again, that the abuse of news property rights was rampant, particularly in France, the two authors methodically went through proposed ways of halting it.[55] They found a total ban on copying as unacceptable as free republication when no expressed prohibition was stated; the former meant bestowing a literary quality even on brief and routine items, clearly not the fruit of intellectual labor, while the latter could mean that a copyright notice had to be put on every article in a newspaper, no matter how small.

Copying with disclosure of the source seemed to the two authors to be dependent on the idealistic notion that readers would gravitate toward the papers which were being copied, recognizing that they were the original sources of the best news. That, thought Osterrieth and Bataille, was unlikely to happen, and the papers copying the news of competitors would instead continue to profit from the labor of others. A fourth solution, Berardi's 1894 suggestion that the priority right of news be protected by prohibiting copying within a certain period of time did not gain favor with the two authors, either, because it could hold up the general facts that they considered public property.

Instead, Bataille and Osterrieth championed a

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[54] "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 71.

[55] "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 68, 72; complaints about French papers in particular had been brought up before, both by other French papers and by British ones, see Spada, "Presskongressen i Bordeaux."

proposal made in Bordeaux two years earlier, to see the piracy of news as unfair competition and leave it up to courts to decide, in each case, whether the rules of competition had been vilated.[56] In general, they thought that copying without disclosure of the source would be cause for legal action, as would "constant and systematic" republication, even if the source was given.[57]

If Osterrieth and Bataille had hoped that the thorough and methodical treatment they had given the copyright issue in their report would preclude debate over the underlying assumption about the new nature of newspapers, they were mistaken. Included in their document were responses by national journalism organizations of the different countries, and, as in the debates during previous congresses, the French press again exemplified the difference of opinion. The commercial nature of the press was generally accepted by the large Paris papers, which supported the conclusions and proposals of the authors; not surprisingly, perhaps, since Bataille was one of their own.[58] In the debate that followed the report's presentation to Congress delegates, another Paris editor hinted that opponents of news protection were envious of success and lagged behind in development.[59]

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[56] Compte Rendu des Travaux du 2me Congrès, 41; made by a French journalist, the proposal was close to the reasoning of the U.S. Supreme Court in a 1918 ruling on news piracy, see International News Service v. the Associated Press, 248 U.S. 215 (1918); Paul W. Sullivan, "News Piracy: Unfair Competition and the Misappropriation Doctrine," Journalism Monographs 56 (May 1978); it also reflected the decision in at least one French case, see "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 67.

[57] "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 73-74; the solutions they rejected had all appeared in the responses by national journalism associations and individual newspapermen (82-87), but the unfair competition solution seems to have originated with Osterrieth, who had presented it to German audiences earlier in the year, see Röthlisberger, 10.

[58] "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 82-87.

[59] "Le Congrès de Stockholm," Le Temps, July 6, 1897, 1.

Those opponents were found in the associations of the French provincial and political press, where other visions of the primary function of the press were still prevailing. To the Association of the Catholic and Monarchistic Press, for instance, newspapers were not the industrial enterprises described by Bataille and Osterrieth; rather, a paper was still "above all the defender of a cause, often the flag of a party, always a propagator of ideas," and stopping free copying would do nothing but hamper the cause of the press, since ideas would not travel as far. Adhering to another traditional view of the press, the Association of the Republican Departmental Press saw journalism as a personal enterprise, where a publicist could conceive of no greater honor than to have his ideas spread by as many papers as possible. As to the republication of news, the association considered "mutual loans" between newspapers a practice of long standing; the "fraternal tolerance" that made it possible should not be replaced by legislation.[60] During the Congress debate over the report, another representative saw free copying of news as a way for small and poor newspapers to survive and serve the readers that needed them.[61]

It became clear in the course of the debate at the Stockholm Congress, then, that the Bataille-Osterrieth report faced resistance. Going against Bataille's long-standing argument that disclosure of the source did not mitigate the harm caused by copying, one of the French delegates wanted the proposal amended to say that such disclosure would be enough evidence to show absence of unfair competition, a suggestion that effectively would have made the idea of unfair competition irrelevant.[62] A majority of the delegates did not accept the modification,

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[60] "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 82-87.

[61] Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès, 35.

[62] "Journalistkongressen," Dagens Nyheter (Stockholm), June 28, 1897, 2.

however, and the original proposal passed unchanged, along with an introductory paragraph that in general terms advocated the legal protection of newspaper articles in a manner similar to the protection given to other intellectual works.[63] With the 1897 Stockholm meeting, then, the International Congress of the Press formally recognized that news items should be protected, although the organization looked to the concept of unfair competition rather than copyright as the remedy.

Aftermath: The Issue of Public Discussion

That the resolution declaring news to be protected passed in 1897 would, on the surface, indicate that there was common agreement among Congress members on Bataille and Osterrieth's characterization of the news function of the press as the most important. That was not altogether true, however, for along with that part of the resolution, the two authors had suggested that political articles enjoy the same protection as other articles in the paper, although citation was allowed "according to the needs of the public debate."[64]

More than the paragraph dealing with news, that suggestion stirred up debate, with several speakers claiming that the copying of political articles had to be absolutely free to serve the interests of public discussion.[65] So strong was the opposition that the Bataille-Osterrieth proposal was outright rejected in favor of a paragraph calling for the discussion of property rights for political articles at the following Congress.[66]

Bataille and Osterrieth were the authors of that report as well, and this time, they appeared to have changed

[63] Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès, 49; "Journalistkongressen," Dagens Nyheter, June 29, 2.

[64] "Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 72.

[65] Compte Rendu des Travaux du 4me Congrès, 47.

[66] "Journalistkongressen," Dagens Nyheter, June 29, 1897, 2.

their view of the press from the previous year. Somewhat surprisingly, the two now denounced a press that was "nothing but a vehicle of news." Instead, the press should be concerned with the free exchange of opinions, which "is the the very honor of journalism, the finest part of its mission," responsible for "so much progress, so many happy reforms"[67]

It is possible that this enthusiastic endorsement of the press as a debate forum rather than a news vehicle was a ruse, devised by the two lawyers in hopes of having a resolution passed that differed from that of the previous meeting only in being more detailed, for they were by no means ready to condone unlimited republication of political articles. On this point, as with news, they were firm as ever: free copying let some papers benefit unjustly from the work of others. If the object of republication was to further public debate, the authors thought, then there must be evidence of such debate in the form of comments added by the copying newspaper, which alawys would be under obligation to disclose the source. Papers that wanted to copy material without comments could not be said to take part in the public discussion, so they would have to seek permission both from the author and the original publication.[68]

Not diverted by Bataille and Osterrieth's homage on the value of newspapers as propagators of ideas, the delegates at the 1898 Lisbon Congress accepted little of what the two authors proposed. Following a lengthy debate, the part of the proposal aiming to protect the original authors and publications by requiring permission was altogether rejected and replaced by a simple requirement that the source be disclosed. Only in cases where

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[67]"Rapport de MM Albert Osterrieth and Albert Bataille sur le Droit de Reproduction des Articles politiques," Compte Rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès, 123.

[68]"Rapport de MM Albert Osterrieth and Albert Bataille sur le Droit de Reproduction des Articles politiques," 124-25.

reproduction was expressly prohibited was another publication barred from printing the entire article, but even then parts of the article could still be cited, and there was no obligation to add one's own comments. Moreover, the realm covered by the resolution was expanded to include not only politics but also economic, social and religious issues. If anything, the 1898 resolution narrowed property rights, going clearly against the intentions of Bataille and Osterrieth.[69]

For one part of the newspaper, then, the vision of the press as a vehicle for political ideas and the journalist as a propagandist had won out over the view of newspapers as enterprises with commercial interests to protect and journalists as professionals with a right to protect their livelihood.[70]

Conclusion

Following the 1898 meeting, the ICP discussion of property rights for newspapers left the areas discussed so far to concentrate on the relationship between newspaper illustrators and publishers.[71] That was an area that was much more easily applicable to the text of the Berne Convention and thus gave rise to little debate over the role of newspapers. Copyright and ownership continued to appear on the Congress agenda after 1900, but with less frequency.[72] In 1907 and 1908, the Congress voted to make

[69]That extension, was in fact, the only part that made the ICP resolution substantially different from the Berne Convention; Compte Rendu des Travaux du 5me Congrès, 47-69; "Journalistkongressen i Lissabon," Pressen (Stockholm) 14-15, Nov. 5, 1898, 2.

[70]See the characterization in "Journalistkongressen i Lissabon."

[71]Compte Rendu des Travaux de 6me Congrès International de la Presse, Rome 1899 (Bordeaux: G, Gounouilhou, 1899), 52-56, 89, 128-33; "Rapport de M. Georges Mailard, Propriété artistique en matière de Presse, Droits de Journalistes Dessinateurs sur leurs Dessins et Legends," 7me Congrès International de Presse (Paris 1900) (Paris: G. Camproger, 1900); "Presskongressen i Paris," Stockholms Dagblad, Aug. 12, 1900, 5.

[72]Spada, "Presskongressen i Wien," Stockholms Dagblad, Sept.

its wishes known to the 1908 Berlin conference assembled to revise the Berne Convention, but, as in 1896, the results were disappointing to propents of newspaper copyright. The new treaty exempted all newspaper content except fiction from protection, unless author and original publication expressly prohibited republication. The one change that was in line with ICP resolutions was that the source had to be given and that failure to do so could have legal consequences. Republication of news carried no such requirement, however.[73]

At Copenhagen in 1914, at its very last meeting before World War I, the Congress voted to ask the Central Bureau to "formulate a strong resolution" on news copyright, but that task perished with the organization itself in the ensuing conflict.[74] In its post-war reincarnation, the International Congress of the Press did not concern itself with the issue.[75] (A 1927 Conference of Press Experts, assembled by the League of Nations, did, however; its recommendations were strikingly similar to those discussed at pre-war ICP meetings, giving news protection against

21, 1904, 2; Bulletin Officiel, 39, May 15, 1914; the issue was apparently not discussed at the congresses of 1905, 1909, 1910 and 1911.

[73]Bulletin Officiel du Bureau Central des Associations de Presse, 35, Aug. 31, 1908; Bulletin Officiel, 34, July 31, 1908, 21; the full text of the "International Convention Relative to the Protection of Literary and artistic Works, Revising that signed at Berne, September 9, 1886, Signed at Berlin, November 13, 1908" is in The American Journal of International Law, vol. 7, supplement, July, 1913, 111-33; article 9 is the relevant passage; the next revision of the Convention, approved in Rome in 1928, was equally unsympathetic to the protection of news, see Frederick S. Siebert, "International Protection of Rights in News," *Journalism Quarterly* 9 (1, March, 1932):296-98.

[74] James Baker, "International Press Congress, Copenhagen, June 11-17," The Newspaper World (London), June 27, 1914, 21

[75]The question of reorganization consumed the post-war congresses, see accounts in Meddelanden från Publicistklubben, 2, Feb. 15, 1928, 13-14; 2, Feb. 15, 1930, 2-3; "Union Internationale des Association de presse," The Newspaper World June 18, 1932; Prssens Tidning (Stockholm) June 15, 1932, 4-5.

unfair competition and favoring post-publication priority.[76] By the early 1930s, the pre-war copyright debate within the ICP was largely forgotten; a 1931 study of the issue by American legal scholar Frederick Siebert mentioned the League of Nations conference but said nothing about the work of the International Congress of the Press.[77]

At the 1902 International Congress of the Press, in Berne, the issue of newspaper copyright had again been the topic of an extensive report, written this time by Swiss university professor Ernest Röthlisberger. His proposals amounted to nothing more than advocating further efforts to effect a change in the Berne Convention, but his work, essentially a historical summary, is useful for evaluating the results of the first eight meetings of the International Congress of the Press, the period discussed in this study, and for relating them to developments outside the organization.[78]

After several years of debate, the Congress had agreed that the property rights of newspapers needed to be strengthened and that news was entitled to some protection. The organization had been less effective in bringing about these desired changes, however. As mentioned above, the 1896 revision of the major international treaty in the area of copyright, the Berne Convention, had paid no attention to ICP wishes, and a proposed second revision, presented in 1901, gave no evidence that newspapers would be substantially better protected in the future, a fear that would be substantiated by the revisions made in 1908.[79]

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[76]Summarized in Meddelanden från Publicistklubben, 2, Feb. 15, 1929, 10; see also Siebert, 300-303.

[77]Siebert; Siebert's article in Journalism Quarterly originally appeared as a presentation before the Press Congress of the World in Mexico in 1931; the PCW was a rival organization sponsored by American educator Walter Williams.

[78]Röthlisberger.

[79]Röthlisberger, 13.

Bataille and Osterrieth had praised the International Literary and Artistic Association and other organizations concerned with international copyright for giving them a friendly hearing as ICP representatives, but the activities of the two in this area had yeilded no visible results.

Nor did legislators in individual countries seem to have paid much attention to the resolutions of the Congress. Röthlisberger's review of laws passed since the compilation made by Bataille and Osterrieth five years earlier showed no real change from the general lack of newspaper protection noted in the 1897 report.[80] Great Britain had seemed to be a possible exception, because there a law proposal had been introduced that would establish the concept of priority, giving newspapers exclusive right to a news item for a specified number of hours. Unfortunately, it had met with heavy opposition among journalists and come to nothing.[81]

The tendency was slightly more hopeful when it came to court rulings. The Osterrieth-Bataille solution of making news piracy a matter of unfair competition had a precedent in a French case, and, after 1897, courts in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain had granted news gatherers protection under that heading.[82] A marked tendency in these cases was that several of them involved news agencies, such as Wolff in Germany and Havas in France, rather than individual newspapers.[83] That was an indication, perhaps, that the issue of property right in

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[80]Röthlisberger, 6-7.

[81]Röthlisberger, 11-12; in the United States, the 1909 revision of the Copyright Law gave limited protection to newspapers, a protection very similar to that afforded by the Berne Convention: original literary work was protected, but general news was not; Sullivan, 2.

[82]"Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 67; Röthlisberger, 7-9.

[83]It should be noted that the Supreme Court case settling the area of news appropriation in the United States–16 years after Röthlisberger's report–involved not newspapers but agencies; on the rise of the agencies, see Stephens, 258-59.

news was moving away from the membership of the International Congress of the Press, where no agencies were represented. Responding to the Bataille-Osterrieth report in 1897, a British journalist had speculated that the appearance of foreign and domestic news agencies would diminish the tendency to copy items from other newspapers, a development he claimed was already evident in England.[84] The growing prominence of the agencies and the premise of their existence–selling news–indicated that the debate whether newspapers were primarily carriers of ideas or purveyors of information had been settled in favor of the latter.

As can be seen in this study, some delegates to the International Congress of the Press were unwilling to see their papers that way, clinging instead to the more traditional view of press as a forum for debate. Their debate of this issue with those who saw changes shows the value of the ICP as a window on the international history of journalism. The debate over copyright may at times appear to have been a purely French affair, but the resolutions resulting from it were passed by journalists from many different countries. Moreover, differences of opinion as to what the nature of newspapers was did not run along national lines, but rather between newspapers of different size and stage of development.

The launching of the copyright debate, as well as the very formation of the ICP, was based on the premise that certain journalistic issues were best handled on the international level. That, in turn, testified to the existence of a common experience of newspaper work among journalists of the 1890s, when differences between countries were beginning to disappear.[85] That is not to say that they have vanished altogether in the 1990s; as Mitchell

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[84]"Rapport de MM. Albert Osterrieth et Albert Bataille," 83

[85]It is significant, for instance, that O'Boyle, who finds major differences between France, Germany and England, deals with the press of the first half of the nineteenth century; O'Boyle.

Stephens points out, journalistic objectivity may still be largely an Anglo-American ideal, for instance. The work of the ICP, however, suggests that there is good reason to use an international perspective when studying the development of the mass media.[86]

[86]Stephens, 264.

THE COMMERCIAL ROOTS OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE: THE *NEW YORK HERALD* AND FOREIGN NEWS, 1835-1839

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Presented to the History Division of AEJMC, Annual Convention, Montreal, Quebec, 1992.

"Werry important news."
"What is it, Tom?"
"The Kamchatkans have whipped the Russians."
"No affair of ours, Tom—it won't affect the funds in Wall street, nor the price of George Hawes' beef in the Fulton market, nor Sweeney's coffee, nor one of Brundage's superb coats, or exquisite vests, made by that unrivalled vest maker, Miss E.R."
"One Leaf from the Life of an Editor," New York Herald, *May 18, 1838.*

In September 1836, James Gordon Bennett, publisher of the New York Herald, launched into one of his frequent attacks on New York's commercial papers, accusing them of being "full of dull, dry details of foreign affairs, of no interest whatever here."[1] It was understandable if his readers were somewhat confused by that condemnation, for less than a month earlier, Bennett had boasted that "the Herald alone knows how to dish up the foreign news."[2]

Mirroring Bennett's contradictory claims, histories of American journalism have seen the Herald and other penny papers as both shunning foreign news in favor of local events and pioneering techniques for gathering information from abroad. For the most part, the presence of foreign news in the penny press has been noted only in passing, and the purpose of this paper is to discuss the role of that news in more detail and provide an explanation of its origin and purpose. Specifically, the paper examines the penny press view of foreign news and how information from abroad was gathered.

The study's focus is the New York Herald, mainly because that paper has been singled out for its innovations in foreign news coverage on one hand and domestic coverage on the other.

[1]New York Herald, Sept. 6, 1836, 2; cf. the a similar charge two months earlier; July 15, 2.

[2]Herald, August 16, 1836, 2.

Moreover, for the study of the early penny press the historian is largely left with the columns of the papers themselves, and Bennett was never shy about letting readers know what he thought. As the above quotations make clear, the record he left behind was not always a model of consistency, but shown against the actual news content of his paper it presents a view of how the penny papers dealt with events abroad.

For reasons explained in the body of the paper, this study concentrates on the years 1835-1839. Critics have maintained that this era of the penny press has received too much attention at the expense of the more mature period of the 1850s and 1860s, but the fact remains that the 1830s was a formative period in the life of these papers, when innovations were made and techniques developed.[3] If the Herald later earned a reputation as a newspaper unsurpassed in its foreign coverage, the foundations for that reputation were laid in the first few years of its existence.

The paper starts with a brief history of the historical role of foreign news in the American press as a whole, followed by a discussion of how historians have viewed the role of penny press in that development. After a brief analysis of one of the Herald's penny predecessors, Bennett's paper itself is discussed.

THE AMERICAN PRESS AND FOREIGN NEWS

Although journalism histories sometimes touch on the presence of foreign news in the American media, long-term studies of newspaper content are quite rare, and the few that have been made vary greatly in papers and time periods studied.[4] Most

[3]For criticism, see Douglas Fermer, James Gordon Bennett and the New York Herald: A Study of Editorial Opinion in the Civil War Era (New York: St. Martins Press, 1986), 3; John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 4 (1987):393.

[4]In terms of looking at overall content, only a handful of studies have been made; Jurgen Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage and International Flow of News over Three Centuries," Gazette 38 (1987):147-80; Donald R. Avery, "The Emerging American Newspaper: Discovering the Home Front," American Journalism I (2, Winter 1984):51-66; Donald Lewis Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News, 1820-1860," Journalism History 8 (2, Summer 1981):38-50;

studies note a declining share of foreign news over time, a trend occasionally broken by what Al Hester terms "news storms," international events of a magnitude generating increased attention, such as the two world wars.[5] According to Michael Emery, the shrinking percentage of international news had reached an all-time low in 1988.[6]

Of the explanations offered for the decline, one is essentially political or cultural, connecting the falling foreign-news percentage to sentiments in society as a whole. Looking at developments over 300 years, German press historian Jürgen Wilke sees the falling proportion of international items in the American press (a share consistently smaller than those of the press in France, Germany and England) as evidence of growing isolationism both in the press and in the country in general.[7] Touching on Wilke's explanation in a more positive way, Donald Avery's study of press content around the

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referred to but not extensively related are two studies of elite newspapers by Michael Emery and Frank Luther Mott; George Garneau, "Foreign news grows, but is reported here less," Editor & Publisher, Feb. 10, 1990, 18; Mott, The News in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 124; a sixth historical study analyzes foreign news but not in relation to overall content, see Al Hester, Susan Parker Humes and Christopher Bickers, "Foreign News Content in Colonial North American Papers, 1764-1775," Journalism Quarterly 57 (Spring 1980):18-22; a study looking at one (albeit important) part of one newspaper is Christine Ogan, Ida Plymale, D. Lynn Smith, William H. Turpin, and Donald Lewis Shaw, "The Changing Front Page of the New York Times, 1900-1970," Journalism Quarterly 52 (Summer 1975):340-44; not included in this discussion are the numerous contemporary studies examining the foreign news-content of American mass media; for a discussion of these, see K. Kyoon Hur, "A Critical Analysis of International News Flow Research," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 1 (1984):365-78; finally, for the treatment of foreign news in a standard history, see Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Seventh ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992), 9-11, 21-22, 27-29, 110, 593,.

[5]Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction in International Information Flow," Gazette 19 (1973):238-47; Mott, 124; Wilke, 159.

[6]Garneau, 18; Emery looked at the 1971-1987 period and found a decline from 10.2 to 2.6 percent between 1971 and 1988; contrary to other studies, Mott (124) noted a long-term rise from 3 to 8.2 percent, during the period he studied, 1910-1950, with high figures for war years.

[7]Wilke, 158-59; Wilke's analysis of Boston papers showed a reduction of foreign news share from 81 percent in 1705 to 9 percent in 1906.

years of the War of 1812 considers the shift away from foreign news an expression of a growing sense of American identity; the declining stress on items from abroad meant that the newspaper was no longer "a captive of foreign events and issues."[8]

Another explanation deals with the character of journalism itself. Although Donald Shaw characterizes the diminishing share of foreign news in the U.S. press between 1820 and 1860 partly as a sign of "the emergence of an American community," he also attributes it to the rise of local editors and reporters as news sources, to "finding news closer to home."[9] That is also the explanation of historians discussing the content of the American press in a more general context. Starting in the 1830s, writes Michael Schudson, the American newspaper for the first time "made it a regular practice to print political news, not just foreign but domestic, and not just national but local."[10]

Shaw is cautious about singling out any particular type of newspaper or decade as the catalyst in the shift away from foreign news, but Schudson and others pinpoint the appearance of the penny papers in New York and other large Eastern cities in the 1830s as the starting point of this "revolution" in the definition of news.[11] With this kind of mass-circulation paper, then, the decline of foreign news into a smaller and smaller share of overall news content effectively began.[12]

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[8]Avery, 52, 64; Avery's sample of some 30 papers from 1808 to 1812 showed a drop from 33.8 percent in 1809 to 7.5 in 1812.

[9]Shaw, 43, 39; Shaw's analysis of major paper across the country noted a drop from 28 percent in the 1820-1832 period to 19 percent in the 1847-1860 period.

[10]Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 22; cf. Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960 (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 243; John Tebbel, The Compact History of the American Newspaper (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963), 97; Emery and Emery, 97.

[11]Both Mott (243) and Schudson (14) use the term "revolution," possibly borrowed from Bennett himself, see Herald, Dec. 28, 1835, 1; Shaw, throughout; also, Shaw, "Critical Response: Why We Need 'Myths,'" Critical Studies in Mass Communication 4 (1987):412-14.

That seemingly simple conclusion becomes more complicated when one turns to histories of newsgathering, however, because they point to an enduring interest in foreign news on the part of the penny press. The leading New York penny papers vigorously engaged in a race for foreign news from incoming ships with the traditional commercial newspapers in the 1830s, according to T.H. Giddings, and Richard Schwarzlose describes the penny press appearance as a "competitive shock wave" among the established dailies in the gathering of news in New York harbor and concludes that reader appetite for foreign news was as great as ever in the 1830s.[13]

How does this reader hunger and newspaper race for foreign news accord with the supposed move of the Herald and other penny papers away from news from abroad? To begin to answer that question, it is appropriate to look briefly at the foreign news in one of the first penny papers in New York, the Sun.

PENNY PRESS PRECEDENT: THE NEW YORK *SUN*

As the studies cited above make clear, foreign news had a long tradition in the American press when penny newspapers first began to be published in the 1830s. As to the intended audience for foreign news, Schwarzlose characterizes it as an elite of merchants who used information from Europe for stock market speculation and other business purposes.[14] In reaching beyond that readership, the first penny papers could be expected to ignore news primarily of interest to a commercial

[12]As to the dominance of foreign news, Wilke's findings show that it ended between 1796 and 1856; on the eve of the nineteenth century, foreign news took up more than two thirds of the Boston Gazette, while 60 years later it accounted for barely more than a quarter of the Boston Post, roughly the same as the figure noted by Avery for his sample for 1808.

[13]Giddings, "Rushing the Transatlantic News in the 1830s and 1840s," New York Historical Society 42 (Jan. 1958):47-59; Schwarzlose, The Nation's Newsbrokers, Vol. 1: The Formative Years, from Pretelegraph to 1865 (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1989) 21, 17, 35.

[14]Schwarzlose, 17.

elite already served by existing papers.

The first successful penny newspaper in New York, the Sun, promised in its opening issue of Sept. 3, 1833, to "lay before the public. . . all the news of the day," which historians have seen as meaning local events of a human-interest nature.[15] Even so, the first issue did carry a small item about cholera in Mexico, and the following week, the paper brought cholera news from Cuba and other items from Portugal, Canada, Peru and Madeira.[16] In an October issue, the paper even ran a piece by a correspondent in Mexico, who related the progress of the cholera and his attendance at a bullfight.[17] Two months into its life, the Sun began including news items from abroad in every other issue, increasing to daily publication in early 1834.

Many of these items were of a timeless nature and were not the newsworthy and current information useful for merchants taking the city's commercial papers. A popular item with a counterpart in the Sun's local coverage was "London Police," undated crime news culled from the English press.[18] Other items dealt with strange events and customs abroad–such as a Sicilian man being buried alive and Chinese children being for sale–were inserted among similar stories originating in the United States.[19] The prominence of this kind of foreign items seems simple enough to explain: foreign newspapers and magazines were a ready source of voluminous

[15]New York Sun, Sept. 3, 2; Mott, American Journalism, 222; James L. Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York, 1830-1860," New York History 45 (April 1964):94.

[16]Sun, Sept. 3, 3; Sept. 9, 2; Sept. 10, 2; Sept. 11, 2.

[17]Sun, Oct. 24, 1.

[18]Sun, Nov. 18, 1833, 4; Nov. 30, 4; Jan. 2, 1834, 4; Jan. 14, 3; the Sun and its content were, it should be noted, patterned on British publications, and one of its most famous writers, Richard Adams Locke, was born in Britain and had worked as an editor there; Crouthamel, 95; Mott, American Journalism, 225.

[19]In the general make-up of the Sun, such items were found on last two of the paper's four pages, where trivia and anecdotes dominated; it should also be remembered that the notorious "moon hoax" published in the Sun purported to have a foreign dateline, South Africa; Mott, American Journalism, 225-26.

filler material which required little extra manpower to produce.

Clipping from European papers was a tradition in the New York mercantile press and other established newspapers, and it was not a custom the Sun chose to abandon, for all its boasts about the local news-gathering capacity of its reporters.[20] While its use of the foreign press as a source of timeless and strange items may have been novel, the penny newcomer stayed well within the established practices of journalism when it began publication of a digest of news from the European press in October 1833.[21] Although the Sun could joke about how it obtained this information—claiming on one occasion that it had a "man-bat" who flew to France for it—the paper stressed to readers that the information itself was "as authentic as any they ever got from the most 'respectable sixpennies.'"[22] At times, showing that the Sun had procured news from abroad was even more important than the content. "We received files of English papers by the ship George Washington, which arrived yesterday morning," readers were informed in January 1834. "They contain no important political news from the continent."[23] (Even with that disclaimer, however, the digest went on to discuss the political situation in Spain.)

In contrast to the strange and timeless items spread out among similar domestic fare on pages three and four, the digests dealt with political news and stressed the currency of

[20]Schudson, 23; Schwarzlose, 17-18.

[21]See, for instance, Sun, Oct. 24, 1833, 2; Nov. 2, 2; Nov. 18, 2; Nov. 21, 1; Nov. 27, 2; Dec. 2, 2; Dec. 11, 2; Dec. 12, 2; tellingly, this information was on the pages reserved for news and comment; Bennett claimed in 1836 that the sixpennies were not above running foreign crime items; Herald, July 15, 1836, 2.

[22]Sun, Dec. 29, 1833, 2.

[23]Sun Jan. 20, 1834, 2; see also Dec. 2, 2; Dec. 11, 2; Jan. 16, 1834, 3; with respect to domestic news, Schudson (21) claims that such phrases were an indication of penny press lack of interest, but for the foreign news, at least, one can make the argument that they represented the result of the editors' analysis of events; such is the suggestion in a wistful account by Rollo Ogden; Ogden, "The Press and Foreign News," Atlantic Monthly 86 (1900):390-93, 391.

the information. Typical was a February 1834 account, three-fourths of a column long, that related the opening of the French Chambers, the winter vacation of a British novelist in Naples, the political triumph of Crete over Turkey, recent actions in the civil war in Spain, and new German immigration policies.[24] Dependent on the arrival of sailing ships from overseas, particularly mail-carrying packets, the news digests were published with differing intervals. Sometimes, as much as a month passed before another one was published, while on other occasions two or three were published in one week.[25] Foreign newspapers, primarily British, were the main source for this news, but the Sun also made use of shipmasters, passengers and private letters as sources, particularly for non-European news.[26] All were long-standing means of obtaining information from abroad.[27]

As noted above, one of the paper's first issues contained a letter from a correspondent in Mexico, and a correspondence from Liverpool appeared in February 1834, relating the writer's arrival in that city and his impressions of it.[28] While both of these had a character of conveying current information, a series of letters from Britain by the signature R.T.C. later in February had little news value. They either dealt with such topics as the fondness that Frederick the Great of Prussia had for dogs or were promoted outright as short stories.[29] A regular foreign correspondent was not

[24]Sun, Feb. 15, 1834, 2.

[25]Seven days was the average interval in 1833 and 1834; the Sun, September 1833-December 1834; for the problems of wind-powered transportation, see Giddings, 50-51; Schwarzlose, 35-36; the Sun's interval is (6.5 days) is roughly the same as that for the Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, a mercantile paper (6.2); Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, January-February 1834.

[26]Sun, Nov. 19, 1833, 2; Dec. 11, 2; Dec. 24, 2; Dec. 31, 2; Jan. 10, 1834, 2; Jan. 18, 2; Jan. 22, 1; Feb. 5, 2; Feb. 7, 2; March 13, 2.

[27]Robert W. Desmond, The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978), 87-89.

[28]Sun, Feb. 12, 1834, 2.

[29]For R.T.C. stories, see Sun, Feb. 17, 1834, 1; Feb. 19, 1; Feb. 25, 1;

employed by the Sun until 1843.[30]

In summation, New York's first successful penny paper had not broken radically new ground in the field of foreign news by the time the New York Herald appeared. The assertion by some historians that the penny press redefined news by concentrating on local events at the expense of occurrences abroad was not true in the case of the Sun, which had retained the latter as an important part of the paper. Neither can it be generally concluded that the news redefinition had steeped foreign news in a form substantially different from that of the commercial press. While the Sun possibly may have been a pioneer in its use of faraway events—along with domestic ones—as participants in a parade of strange and unusual happenings, a substantial share of its foreign material was not of that kind. In techniques of gathering international information, too, the paper followed the lead of the existing press. It was up to its successor to claim it was making major innovations in the field.

TRADITIONAL VIEW OF THE *HERALD* AND ITS FOREIGN NEWS

Among the New York penny papers, the Herald has been singled out by historians as having a major impact on foreign news, both in the United States and worldwide. Robert Desmond credits Bennett's paper with establishing "the first American system, and the first extensive world system, of foreign correspondence," and John Hohenberg sees the paper as ranking with the Times of London as one of the few papers able to operate an independent foreign news service predating and rivaling that of the international news agencies.[31]

March 5, 1; March 6, 1.

[30]Desmond, The Press and World Affairs (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), 17; for the appearance of foreign correspondents before the 1830s, see John Hohenberg, Foreign Correspondents: The Great Reporters and Their Times (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 23-24; and Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 451.

[31]Desmond, The Press, 16-17; in a later work, Desmond scaled down Bennett's contribution to make him the first user of a corps of foreign

Starting in Bennett's lifetime, a majority of journalism historians have been equally certain in their positive assessment of the contributions of the Herald. Frederic Hudson, one of the earliest historians of the American press and Bennett's managing editor, considered his employer the originator of "organized European correspondence," and later accounts have reiterated that assertion.[32] Hudson's assessment was, by and large, also shared by Bennett's contemporaries. In 1857, a visitor to the Herald office marveled at the paper having "correspondents in all quarters of the globe," and an 1873 article in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper told readers that "you can find a Herald man in every nook and cranny of the Earth."[33] Testimony to the prominence the newspaper had gained in foreign affairs by the 1850s was the stream to the Herald office of visitors wishing to offer their services as correspondents or pointing the paper's attention toward certain foreign topics.[34]

Hudson (who had joined the Herald staff in 1837) saw the year 1838 as a watershed in the newspaper's engagement in foreign news collection.[35] It seemed an appropriately dramatic choice, for in the spring of that year, the Sirius,

correspondents in the Western Hemisphere, see Desmond, Information Process, 89-93; Hohenberg, 33.

[32]Hudson, 451; Don C. Seitz, The James Gordon Bennetts, Father and Son (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928), 60-61; Oliver Carlson, The Man Who Made News: James Gordon Bennett (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942), 201-02; Tebbel, 98; equally full of praise but less conclusive is an earlier account, Isaac Pray, Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and His Times (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), 249-51.

[33]Clippings, Obituary Scrapbooks, vol. 1, Frederic Hudson papers, Concord Public Library, Concord, Mass.

[34]See, for instance, Frederic Hudson diaries, entries, Jan. 7, 1851; Jan. 15; Feb. 10; May 21, 1853; May 25; April 7, 1854; Dec. 12; Jan. 8, 1855; Jan. 22-23; Feb. 4; Feb. 20; March 14; Hudson papers.

[35]Hudson, 451; interestingly, Hudson was hired to collect shipping information and foreign news in New York harbor, see "Frederic Hudson--the Character and Career of a Great Journalist," Boston Sunday Herald, May 29, 1881; clipping, Obituary Scrapbook, Hudson papers; Woodward Hudson, "Fragmentary Chronicles of Frederic and Eliza Woodward Hudson, 1817 to 1876," typed manuscript, Hudson papers, 26.

the first steamer to enter New York directly from Great Britain, docked in the city's harbor, enthusiastically saluted by the publisher of the Herald. Bennett had followed its voyage for more than a month, predicting that "manners, arts, commerce, the philosophy of life, the refinement of the old world, its wealth and distinguished personages, will all flow to America by this channel."[36]

With his usual flair, Bennett announced that he had decided to book passage to England on the return voyage of the steamer, and he made it clear that his trip would have major consequences for the Herald's involvement in gathering foreign news. Not only would the publisher himself send correspondence from overseas, he would also attempt to "establish correspondents, on a permanent footing, at London, Paris, Bristol, Liverpool, Cork, &c."[37] It would, he promised, "a corps of correspondents, such as have never been attached to a New York paper."[38]

In retrospect, the choice of 1838 as the year that the Herald took a real interest in foreign news provides a neat causal relationship: spawned by a major change in transportation technology that made contacts between Europe and America more regular, the practice of independent news gathering by the American press took off. The authority given to Hudson's account together with the enthusiastic promotion issuing forth from the columns of the Herald have made the impression an enduring one, lending credence to what Schudson calls "the technological argument" for the development of American newspapers.[39] Yet, a closer study of the paper

[36]Herald, March 24, 1838; see also the oft-quoted "A Homily on Steamships-Facts and Opinions Thereon," April 26, 2; Bennett's interest in Transatlantic steamships dated at least to 1835, and he had long awaited the arrival of the Sirius; Herald, Oct. 8, 1835, 2; Sept. 6, 1836, 2; April 7, 1838, 2; April 19, 2; April 20, 2; April 23, 2; on the impact of the arrival of the Sirius, see Giddings, 47-48; Schwarzlose, 22-23, 34-35.

[37]Herald, April 25, 1838, 2; Bennett's other purpose was to promote American commerce abroad, see Herald, April 30, 2.

[38]Herald, July 20, 1838, 2.

itself suggests that April 1838 was less of a turning point than Hudson and Bennett made it out to be.[40]

Scrutinizing Bennett's own editorial promises, a case can be made for steamers having little initial impact on news from Europe. About to make another trip to Europe in 1847, after nearly seven years of regular steamer traffic between Britain and North America, Bennett still held out the promise to his readers to "establish permanent correspondents of the highest order, for the columns of this journal, in all the principal cities of the old continent–embracing London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Rome, Naples, &c."[41]

Through a close study of the columns of the Herald, an even more persuasive argument can be made that the use of foreign correspondents predated Bennett's voyage back to his native land aboard the Sirius in 1838. Before discussing the appearance of those correspondents, however, it is appropriate to look at the way Bennett and his newspaper regarded foreign news.

BENNETT, THE *HERALD* AND FOREIGN NEWS

From the first year of the Herald's existence, it was clear that foreign items would be a regular part of the paper's content. On the average, European news digests were printed every four days in the fall of 1835, and their appearance was similar to that of the Sun. Like its penny competitor, for instance, the Herald in its first years frequently used foreign items as fillers.[42]

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[39]Schudson, 31-35

[40]Bennett had, for instance, apparently decided to go to Europe months before the arrival of the Sirius, see Herald, Dec. 5, 1837, 2.

[41]Herald, May 25, 1847; clipping, Hudson papers.

[42]As an example, it ran "London Police" stories twice in the fall of 1835, and in 1837 it occasionally presented timeless and odd items under the heading "Foreign extracts"; Herald, Oct 30, 1835, 1; Nov. 20, 1; June 15, 1837, 1; June 22, 1; June 23, 1; filler material made up half of all foreign content in 1836; Herald, April 1-28, Aug. 1-16, 1836.

Like the Sun, the Herald sometimes thought it sufficient to tell readers little else but that newspapers from Europe had arrived in the office and that "we cannot perceive that there is much news," but more often, a review of current events from the continent was given, and the recency of the information was habitually stressed with headings such as "Six Days Later from Europe."[43] A typical foreign-news column in the fall of 1835 relied on English papers brought by the packet Columbus and informed readers of proceedings in the British Parliament, the activities of the royal family, a battle in the civil war in Spain, changes in the Portuguese government, the outbreak of cholera in France, and poems and novels published in British magazines.[44] Frequently, such foreign events were allowed to crowd out "original articles."[45]

The frequent publication of foreign news testified to Bennett's interest, and his editorial comments also indicate that he thought news from abroad was important and growing more so as the Herald's first year came to an end. In December 1835, his rivalry with the commercial dailies spilled over into the gathering of foreign news when the Herald accused the "Wall Street newspapers" of suppressing items from abroad in order to allow for speculation in commodities, implying that that order of things was about to come to an end thanks to James Gordon Bennett.[46] In May 1836, Bennett introduced a digest from England with a boastful account of how his cutter the Herald had beaten the news boat of the Courier and Enquirer, one of the largest commercial papers and

[43]Herald, Sept. 5, 1935, 2; Nov. 16, 2; Dec. 27, 1836, 2; "later" in this case apparently meant that the information had a later date than what appeared in previous issues and competing papers, since no sailing passage was made in less than 16 days; Schwarzlose, 35-36.

[44]Herald, Sept. 8, 1835, 2.

[45]Herald, Nov. 30, 1835; for a humorous account on how foreign news was selected, partially quoted in this paper's introduction, see Herald, May 18, 1838, 2.

[46]Herald, Dec. 14, 1835, 2; Dec. 15, 2.

the former employer of the Herald publisher.[47]

Bennett attacked the Wall Street papers in a series of editorials in July, criticizing the "sixpennies" for a variety of faults, including their lackluster gathering of foreign news. Giving the details of how he had beat the Wall Street competition to the latest English news, Bennett proceeded to give his plans for the future, promising "in a few short months" to "outstrip every person in Wall Street in procuring early foreign news, as I have long since done in getting full, accurate, and deeply interesting local intelligence of every kind of quality."[48] Soon afterwards, he distanced his foreign news coverage not only from the sixpennies but also from the other penny papers. In a by now familiar manner, he put down the commercial papers because their coverage of a European story "did not pick out the cream and serve it as we did"; the penny press, however, had missed the story altogether.[49]

As 1837 got under way, it became increasingly clear that it was the Wall Street press and not the Sun and other penny papers that Bennett saw as his rivals in the gathering of foreign news. Frequent editorial boasts proclaimed that the Herald had European news hours if not days in advance of its six-penny competition.[50] In a longer editorial comment, the Herald publisher announced that "the commercial community has been astonished at the fullness and accuracy of the Herald in its ship news and foreign department."[51] Again accusing the

[47]Herald, May 6, 1836, 2.

[48]Herald, July 22, 1836, 2; for the other editorials, see July 14, 2; July 15, 2; less than a year later, the Herald apparently thought it achieved foreign news supremacy, see June 8, 1838, 2.

[49]Herald, August 16, 1836; cf. the comment on the Courier and Enquirer, Sept. 30, 2.

[50]Herald, March 13, 1837, 1; March 22, 2; March 23, 2; March 28, 2; cf. the exhortation to the New York harbor pilots to "get up an opposition to the Wall Street news boats," March 9, 2.

[51]Herald, March 29, 1837, 2.

Wall Street papers of delaying news publication to help speculators, Bennett crowed that his boats were putting an end to that practice by meeting incoming ships farther out to sea and speedily conveying the news to the Herald office in Anne Street.[52]

The boasts about the Herald's success in gathering foreign news continued through the fall, until Bennett announced in December that "the organization of this department is in excellent order, and the line of communication between the packet ships beyond Sandy Hook and Anne street is complete."[53] Supposedly, the sixpennies were in such a panic over the success of the Herald news gathering operation that they had resorted to accusing Bennett's paper of making up its news. Dismissing that charge, the publisher assured his readers that the Herald's "news boats are always on the broad waters, and our news collectors are men of integrity and character."[54]

Stung by further accusations that he had fabricated news, Bennett next revealed the system he had set up for gathering news from abroad. Two schooners, the Celeste and the Teazer, met ships out to sea, while a smaller boat, the Tom Boxer, plied the waters of the harbor. As the winter made the harbor unapproachable, the schooners would land their information on Long Island, from where it would reach the Herald office by pony express.[55] As the winter months came, Bennett announced that the express system had proven very effective.[56]

By then, the claim of the superiority of the Herald in foreign news gathering was already part of a standing notice,

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[52]On the practice of speculating and its relationship to foreign news, see Schwarzlose, 16-17.

[53]Herald, Dec. 4, 1937, 2; Aug., 7, 2; Sept. 16, 2; Oct. 21, 1; Dec. 4, 2; Dec. 6, 2; Dec. 27, 2, 4; Jan. 5, 1838, 4;.

[54]Herald, Dec. 13, 1837, 2.

[55]Herald, Dec. 16, 1837, 2.

[56]Herald, Jan. 29, 1838, 2.

which announced that "for many weeks past we have beaten the Wall street papers in ship news, foreign and domestic arrivals, and local intelligence of every kind."[57] The news columns of the Herald do not bear out all of Bennett's boasts, but they do show that his paper was moving closer to the commercial press it so frequently claimed to be superior to. If the Herald in its first two years was similar in content to the Sun, it was moving away from its penny predecessor in the last few years of the 1830s. It was evident, for instance, in the growth of market reports and shipping news, which in 1836 had accounted for a little more than 5 percent of the Herald's content but by 1837 had jumped to more than one fifth.[58]

When it came to items from abroad, their share was also increasing, although not as dramatically as shipping and market news. Making up 11 percent of the Herald's content in 1836, foreign material rose to 14 percent the following year and 18 percent in 1838.[59] In its treatment of that material, the Herald was again moving closer to the sixpennies, both in frequency of publication and type of information. In 1836, the average interval between the publication of items from abroad in Bennett's paper was eight days, a number that shrank to less than five in 1837 and less than three the following year, bringing the Herald's frequency in line with that of leading Wall Street papers such as the Journal of Commerce and the Courier and Enquirer.[60]

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[57]Herald, Dec. 28, 1837-Jan. 19, 1838.

[58]The following content discussion is based on a sample of issues from the first two weeks of two randomly selected months, April and August, for the years 1836-1839, measured in column space of non-advertising matter (incomplete holdings necessitated the exclusion of 1835): for 1838 and 1839, shipping and market news accounted for 22 and 26 percent, respectively.

[59]For Shaw's larger sample, the figure for the 1833-46 period was 14 percent; Shaw, "At the Crossroads," 42; during 1839, the share of foreign news in the Herald dropped abruptly to less than 6 percent.

[60]For the interval calculations, all Herald issues of 1836-1838 were examined; to some extent, external circumstances may explain the change: the Panic of 1837 made information from Europe vital, and in 1838, Bennett's own correspondence from Europe meant that information from there was published almost daily for six months; randomly selected sample months of the Courier and Enquirer (July-September, 1836) and the Journal of Commerce (July-August, 1837) yielded average intervals of 3.8 and 2.4 days, respectively; obviosly, the Herald's 1836

The character of foreign items was changing as well. As noted above, half the material from abroad was made up of fillers in the Sun tradition in 1836; that share was down to one tenth in 1838, when items such as anecdotes from the life of Napoleon were being replaced with current events abroad and, more significantly, economic news. Bennett had started publishing reports from the Liverpool cotton market as early as the spring of 1836, and by the summer of that year, information about the French commodity exchanges also began to appear, sent out from Le Havre. In the fall, the Herald started publishing reports from the London Money Market.[61] The following year, market reports accompanied almost every European digest. Such information about foreign exchanges was not an invention of Bennett's but had long been a staple of the Wall Street papers. The Courier and Enquirer, for example, was publishing reports from London, Liverpool, Havre, Paris and Antwerp on a regular basis in when Bennett began making them part of the Herald's foreign news in 1836.[62]

Foreign market reports still accounted for only one tenth of the news from abroad in 1837 and 1838, but their significance lay less in the amount published than in the way the information was gathered, for it was from the Herald's demand for commercial intelligence that its first regular use of foreign correspondents was to come.[63]

GATHERING NEWS AT THE SOURCE

When Hudson credited his publisher with laying the foundations

interval was considerably longer than that of the Courier and Enquirer, even for the same months during which the commercial paper was examined; cf. the figures for the Sun, note 25.

[61]Herald, Feb. 29, 1836; July 7, 2; July 25, 2; Sept. 5, 2; Oct. 7; Oct. 14, 2; Nov. 3, 2; Dec. 2, 2.

[62]Courier and Enquirer, July-September, 1836.

[63]The share of market reports based on the sample issues makes that kind of information seem less frequent than it appears to be when looking, less systematically, at all Herald issues with foreign news for 1837 and 1838.

for correspondence from abroad, he did admit that such correspondence had appeared in the American press both before 1838 and before the birth of the Herald.[64] The Herald itself had, in fact, used foreign correspondents on and off since 1835, when a writer aboard a U.S. naval ship contributed eight "Sketches in South America."[65] Undated, they had the character of travelogue and conveyed little newsworthy information, a strain of correspondence that would occasionally return to the columns of the Herald.[66]

Far closer to the idea of the foreign correspondent as an observer of current events abroad were two letters published in early 1836. Written by a "distinguished American gentleman," they told of the resolution of a crisis between the United States and France.[67] A similar report came from London in late February, when an anonymous writer related the situation in the British Parliament.[68] A few days later, the Herald ran a letter from Hudson's Merchants News Room in Liverpool, which dealt with both British and French affairs.[69] Another letter from Hudson's in July dealt primarily with market conditions, although it also touched on matters in Ireland and France.[70] No more correspondences appeared in 1836, but as Bennett announced in November that the Herald

[64]Hudson, 451; cf. Giddings, 50; Hudson's stress on the Herald being the first American newspaper to set up a correspondent network has been lost in some later accounts, such as Tebbel, 98; British newspapers like the London Times had had such a network in place for several years, and by the 1830s, they were receiving foreig.. orrespondence on an almost daily basis; Hohenberg, 24; Times, January-February, 1830, 1834.

[65]Herald, Sept. 8-12; 14, 17, 22, 1835.

[66]See, for instance, the writings of another "naval correspondent" two years later; Herald, Aug. 8, 1837, 2; Jan. 24, 1838, 2; Oct. 3, 4.

[67]Herald, Jan. 2, 1836, 2 (republished the following day); Jan. 12, 2.

[68]Herald, Feb. 29, 1837, 2.

[69]Herald, March 2, 1836, 1; for the development of news rooms in the United States and Britain, see Desmond, Information Process, 87-89; Emery and Emery, 110.

[70]Herald, July 7, 1936, 2.

would be enlarged, he claimed that one of the imminent improvements would be the engagement of "foreign correspondents of all kinds."[71]

Readers would have to wait for that promise to be fulfilled, for while domestic correspondents contributed with some regularity in early 1837, the main source of news from abroad remained foreign newspapers.[72] In March, however, several correspondences from abroad began appearing, among them letters from brokerage firms in Liverpool and Le Havre about French and British market conditions and a letter from London claiming that the British were about to buy Cuba.[73] From then on, letters from Liverpool and Le Havre were fairly regular, accompanied by occasional "private correspondences" from London.[74] The former dealt almost exclusively with the markets, while the London letters, by different writers, sometimes also discussed politics and the theatre.

It was economic information that dominated the dispatches of the regular contributors, however, who were located in principals centers of commerce. When Bennett announced in August that his paper was "adding every day" to its list of foreign correspondents, he claimed "stationary" correspondents in New Orleans, Jamaica, London and Liverpool, with "Paris and elsewhere" soon to be included.[75] By December, the paper also claimed correspondents in Le Havre and Paris.[76]

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[71]Herald, Nov. 21, 1836, 2.

[72]Bennett's much-publicized news rivalry with the sixpenny papers in the latter half of 1836 was over the earliest access to foreign papers; on domestic correspondents, see Herald, Jan. 20, 1837, 2; April 17, 2; Aug. 9, 2; Aug. 10, 2; Sept. 25, 2.

[73]Herald, March 17, 1837, 2; March 21, 2; March 22, 2.

[74]Herald, March 25, 1837, 2; March 28, 2; April 6, 2; April 25, 2; June 2, 2; June 3, 2; June 8, 2; June 13, 2; July 6, 1; July 11, 2; July 26, 2; Aug. 1, 2 Aug. 7, 2; Aug. 12, 2; Aug. 16, 2; Aug. 18, 2; Aug. 31, 1, 2; Sept. 23, 1; Oct. 6, 2; Oct. 21, 2; Oct. 27, 1; Oct. 30, 1.

[75]Herald, Aug. 8, 1837, 2; for the Jamaica correspondent, see May 31, 2; Aug. 2, 2; for London and Liverpool, Dec. 1, 1.

[76]Herald, Oct. 27,1837, 1; Dec. 13, 2; there was some inconsistency in Bennett's announcements, however; a list of correspondents published earlier in

That month, a news storm in the shape of abortive rebellions in Canada made the Herald expand, on a temporary basis, its staff of foreign correspondents. The hostilities themselves were short-lived, but with some of the insurgents holding out on Navy Island in the Niagara River on the American-Canadian border, it remained a newsworthy story in the United States. It was also close to New York City, which meant that the Herald (which had covered the 1836 fighting in Texas by quoting other newspapers) could dispatch its own correspondents to file timely stories. With the "seat of war" practically in upstate New York, the conflict could be covered largely from the United States, which makes the borderline between domestic and foreign correspondence vague.

The Herald's initial reports were drawn solely from newspapers in upstate New York, Vermont and Montreal, but by Dec. 8, he was promising readers "a regular and connected series of letters, from the seat of war, whither we have sent a special correspondent to watch the progress of events."[77] A few days into January, the Herald announced that it had "special correspondents at Buffalo, Rochester, Albany—throughout the whole line to Navy Island" and that private expresses had been set up between the scenes of action and the nearest post offices.[78] Soon, Herald correspondents were within view of Navy Island itself and, finally, in the insurgents' camp.[79] The rebels dispersed in late January, and the correspondences ceased soon afterwards, although

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December gave only Jamaica (permanent) and London (occasional) as foreign ones; Dec. 8, 2; it should be noted that Bennett also appeared to expect different kinds of foreign news from different locations; in one instance, he promised readers "the fashionable, social and political movements, sayings and doings, of Paris, and London . . . the commercial affairs of Calcutta and Canton . . . the mercantile operations of Janmaica and the other West India Islands"; Herald, Feb. 27, 1838, 2.

[77]Herald, Dec. 8, 1837, 1, 2; for earlier coverage, see Dec. 4, 2; Dec. 7, 1; for later, Dec. 13, 2; Dec. 18, 2; Dec. 19, 2; Dec. 22, 4; Jan. 3, 1838, 2; Jan. 4, 1838, 2.

[78]Herald, Jan. 5, 1838, 1, 2.

[79]Herald, Jan. 16, 1838, 1; Jan. 19, 1.

continuing unrest in the Canadas and tensions along the border with the United States kept the Herald's interest in Canada alive throughout 1838.[80]

The Canadian Rebellion was an extraordinary event, however, and the Herald correspondents writing about it disappeared from the paper's columns once it was over. When it came to more permanent contributors, the Herald began its fourth year with reports from London, Liverpool and Le Havre as a regular feature and with occasional reports from other parts of the world on the increase.[81] Of the Herald correspondents writing as travelers in 1838, the most noteworthy was the publisher himself. Starting in June, the Herald published some 40 letters and ten journal installments by Bennett from Britain and France. They combined the two strains of correspondence discussed above, mixing general impressions of the traveler with political and economic news. The latter was natural, since Bennett repeatedly had stated that he was in Europe as an emissary of American commerce.[82] As to his promise to organize a permanent network of correspondents during his trip, the result most visible in the Herald's columns was more regular contributions from London, and, starting in September, Paris; as before, economic material accounted for a large share, at least in the reports from Britain.[83]

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[80]For the surrender, see Herald, Jan. 22, 1838, 2; on the significance of the Rebellion in the Herald's history, see Hudson, 446.

[81]Herald, Feb. 27, 1838, 2; March 8, 2; March 10, 2; March 12; March 3, 4; April 15, 4.

[82]Herald, July 16, 1838, 2; Bennett's letters began running in June and continued until the publisher's return in October; Herald, June 18, 19, 21, 23, 28; July 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26, 27; Aug. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 31; Sept. 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 29; Oct. 3, 4, 5; for an account of his trip, see Pray, 236-50; a less charitable contemporary of Bennett called his correspondence "curious rigmaroles; flippant and amusing"; The Life and Writings of James Gordon Bennett (New York: n.p., 1844), 37.

[83]Herald, June 8, 1838, 2, July 3, 1; July 9, 4; Sept. 3, 4; Sept. 6, 2; Sept. 13, 2; Sept. 15, 2; Sept. 19, 2; Sept. 22, 2; Sept 24, 2.; Sept. 27, 2; Oct 1, 2; Oct 11, 2; in January 1839, correspondences from London, Liverpool, Paris or Le Havre were published in the issues of Jan. 3, 1839, 2; Jan. 4, 2; Jan. 7, 2; Jan. 8, 2; Jan. 9, 2; for a characteristic Herald boast, see Jan. 8,

In Bennett's absence, the Herald staff had promised correspondents not only from London and Paris but from "all important ports of Europe, Asia and Africa."[84] The custom of the time to delete their names–in two cases, on the expressed request of the writers themselves–makes it difficult to say with certainty what kind of people the Herald's correspondents were.[85] Bennett made a great show of some of them being volunteers who, like a correspondent in Cuba, offered to relate "the local news, such as clearances, and arrivals–disasters, price current and review of the market–the slave trade and any other valuable information; now and then touching on our manners, laws and customs–the fair sex of this fair clime," in exchange only for a daily copy of the Herald.[86] That they offered, unsolicited, to act as Herald correspondents was, according to Bennett, testimony to the paper's popularity abroad.[87] Making up this category of contributors were not only foreign nationals but also American travelers who offered to write while going abroad.[88]

The background of the more regular contributors varied. The correspondent in Jamaica was a journalist who wanted to exchange papers with the Herald.[89] As noted above, the early correspondences from Liverpool and Le Havre were from brokerage firms, and the continuing stress on commercial matters in reports from there makes it plausible that the writers came from that background. References in letters from the Herald's London man make it clear that part of his duties

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[84]Herald, Aug. 8, 1838, 2.

[85]For requests for anonymity, see Herald, April 15, 1838, 4.

[86]Herald, Feb. 27, 1838, 2.

[87]Herald, March 8, 1838, 2; cf. Aug. 31, 1837, 2.

[88]Herald, Aug. 8, 1837, 2; Aug. 10, 2; Aug. 30, 1; Jan. 24, 1838, 2; Oct. 3, 4; the two correspondents in these issues were a naval officer and an actor.

[89]Herald, Aug. 2, 1837, 2; May 31, 2.

was to collect British newspapers and send them along with his own piece, and private letters to Hudson and Bennett from a decade later make it clear that by then this was part of the correspondents' duties elsewhere as well, as was acting as a subscription agent.[90] Much more than this is hard to surmise about the Herald's early correspondents; although some of them, like the Jamaican editor, had journalistic experience, Oliver Carlson's claim that they were "Europe's ablest newspapermen" seems based solely on one of Bennett's boastful announcements.[91] The day when the name of the foreign correspondent was an important part of his dispatches had yet to appear.[92]

CONCLUSION

In January 1839, four months after Bennett's return from Europe, the Herald announced, not surprisingly, that its new "arrangements for information on every leading topic from Europe" had once again "far outstripped every Wall street paper in foreign news."[93] That and similar boasts related throughout this study–as well as the foreign news itself–suggest that the conventional view of the penny press of the 1830s abandoning foreign news in its quest for local events is incorrect. News from abroad was published in the Herald as well as the Sun, and at least the former saw itself in direct competition with the established commercial press in this area.

That competition needs to be taken into account when

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[90]Herald, Aug. 7, 1837, 2; Dec. 1, 1; Aug 7, 37, 2; Benjamin Foster to Bennett, Jan. 26, Jan. 31, 1850; B.H. Revdil to Frederic Hudson, Aug. 1, n.d.; Bennett papers, New York Public Library.

[91]Carlson, 202.

[92]Although the Herald did not seem to favor pseudonyms for its foreign correspondents, other papers were using them; thus, "XYZ" wrote letters from Paris and London for the Courier and Enquirer in 1836, and correspondence from Britain was published in the Journal of Commerce from "NAUTILUS" in 1837 and "RASSELAS" and "EQUATOR" in 1839; cf. Hudson, 451.

[93]Herald, Jan. 8, 1839, 2.

discussing Bennett's role in the development of foreign news coverage in the American press. Historical accounts making the Herald an outstanding innovator in foreign news gathering, inventing it in its modern form, do not sufficiently consider the environment that the Herald publisher was working in. Bennett may have claimed that his system for ensuring foreign news for the Herald was unique, but it is clear that he drew on the experiences of others. To begin with, English papers had regular correspondents in place well before he boarded the Sirius for Europe, and the system had been used earlier in America by Samuel Topliff, although not by a newspaper organization.[94]

In the Herald's own time, its New York commercial press rivals were developing a system of regular correspondence if not ahead of Bennett's paper then certainly alongside it. Some histories see the Sun and its establishment of a London correspondent in 1843 as the first challenge to the foreign correspondence of the Herald, but that is to altogether ignore the contributions of the older mercantile newspapers. While the Herald was beginning to publish occasional European correspondence in 1836, the Courier and Enquirer was running regular dispatches by "XYZ" from London and Paris, and a year later, when Bennett's network of correspondents was beginning to take shape, the Journal of Commerce was relying on regular contributions from writers in London, Liverpool, Havre and Turkey.[95] In 1839, that paper had a network that rivaled that of Bennett's paper, using correspondents not only in London, Liverpool and Havre but also Havana, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Marseilles, Valparaiso, Bermuda, Manchester and Mazatlan.[96]

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[94]Hohenberg, 24; Emery and Emery, 110; using correspondents to provide foreign intelligence for merchants has, of course, a long history, starting with the Fuggers in the Middle Ages; Mitchell Stephens, A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 75-76.

[95]Journal of Commerce, July 10, 1837, 2; July 24, 2; July 25, 2; July 31, 4; Aug. 2, 2; Aug. 10, 4; Aug. 11, 4; Aug. 16, 2, 4; Aug. 28, 4; Aug. 30, 4; Courier and Enquirer, Feb. 29, 1836, 2; March 22, 2; April 9, 2; April 27, 2; April 28, 2; May 3, 2; May 20, 2; May 25, 2; July 25, 2; Aug. 4, 2; Aug. 6, 2; Aug. 8, 2; Aug. 24, 2; Sept. 5, 2.

John Nerone's advice to journalism historians to see the penny press as less revolutionary seems appropriate in the case of foreign news, then, where Bennett's network of correspondents was not the sudden beginning of today's system of gathering news abroad but appeared in the context of his battle with commercial papers employing similar methods.[97] Viewing Bennett and his paper in that context is not necessarily to diminish the Herald publisher's reputation as an innovator. In his rivalry with the sixpennies he may frequently have been the leader who forced his competitors to innovate, too, as is suggested by the change from a few foreign correspondents in the Journal of Commerce in 1837 to a multitude in 1839. Nor does the acknowledgment of Bennett's connection to the commercial press turn him into nothing more than another another Wall Street publisher. There were indisputable differences, such as his obsession with what he called "early and authentic" news. In neither the Journal of Commerce nor the Courier and Enquirer is there anything equivalent to Bennett's frequent accounts of how he spared no expense to gather news more effectively and the implication that news-gathering enterprise determined the quality of a newspaper.

What paying greater attention to Bennett's connection to the commercial press does mean, however, is a loosening of the boundaries between definitions of penny and six-penny papers. Histories of the Herald often appear to take at face value Bennett's frequent announcements that his paper was unique and altogether different from the established commercial dailies. That acceptance is a little dangerous in the case of a publisher who delighted in criticizing other papers and rarely offered praise and who loved to boast about his own success.

[96]Journal of Commerce, July 1-Sept. 24, 1839.

[97]Nerone; it is worth remembering that Bennett's first experience of New York journalism was on the staff of the Courier and Enquirer; Sidney Kobre, Development of American Journalism (Dubuque: WM. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1969), 167, 231; Kobre's book is one of the few comprehensive histories to discuss the New York commercial press in any great detail.

Simply checking Bennett's editorial boasts against the Herald's news columns and against the papers he criticized, as this study does in the case of foreign news, scales down some of his claims of uniqueness.

Even the claims themselves suggest a connection between the Herald and the commercial press. In his announcements concerning the superiority of the Herald's foreign-news coverage, Bennett appeared to court the readers of the Wall Street papers, offering specialized information for a limited audience. The overall readership of the Herald has been the subject of discussion and speculation, but in the case of foreign news, the publisher's target audience seems quite evident.[98] Although Bennett would claim that his paper was read by "all classes" it was the "commercial community," or, as he put it more bluntly, "the merchants–the brokers–the bankers," whom he wanted to serve with his ship news and foreign intelligence.[99] For that part of his paper, at least, he did not appear to seek a mass audience, suggesting that the readership of the Herald was more heterogeneous and in some ways more traditional than has often been assumed. The paper itself was, in turn, less a definite break with the past than an evolution of American journalism.

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[98]After reviewing theories about the Herald readership, Bennett biographer James Crouthamel concludes that it must "remain anonymous" to historians; Crouthamel, Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press (Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press, 1989), 159-61.

[99]Herald, July 22, 1836; Sept. 16, 1837, 1; Dec. 6, 2; Dec. 13, 2.

THE SHORT LIFE OF THE NATIONAL COURIER: Christian Journalism's 'Finest Hour?'

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Presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, August 5-8, 1992, Montreal, Canada.

THE SHORT LIFE OF THE *NATIONAL COURIER*: CHRISTIAN JOURNALISM'S 'FINEST HOUR?'

In 1975, during a time of great religious interest, the *National Courier* was introduced. The paper presented general news, political and religious commentary from a broad Protestant perspective. The editorial staff came from some of the nation's most respected daily newspapers. The founder was a successful Christian book publisher who felt the *Courier* would follow in the footsteps of the 19th century Christian publications that helped shape American public opinion. Further, the *Courier* was introduced at a time when the Moral Majority and other such groups were influencing public opinion. Yet the *National Courier* failed to capture sufficient readers and it folded after 23 months.Using descriptive analysis, the researcher attempted to answer the question, 'What happened?' and to identify variables future Christian publishers need to consider before attempting to launch such a publication.

THE SHORT LIFE OF THE *NATIONAL COURIER*: Christian Journalism's 'Finest Hour?'

When the *National Courier* first appeared in 1975, several writers hailed the publication as a rare attempt to provide a Christian perspective on current events.[1] The Associated Press said the *Courier* was "a different kind of national newspaper, explicitly Christian in its perspective . . .born of a conviction that religious values relate to all events of the world."[2] A *Courier* editor called the publication "Christian journalism's finest hour."[3] Founded by Dan Malachuk, the New Jersey-based bi-weekly was backed by the financial resources of his Logos Fellowship International, a publishing house for charismatic Christian books.[4] The company's first book *Run Baby Run*, by Nicki Cruz, sold well over a million copies. Logos also published *Logos Journal*, a bi-monthly magazine for Christian believers. But Malachuk was not content: he wanted to publish a newspaper that would reach beyond the boundaries of this small segment of the Christian market:

> I began to see the importance of providing a vehicle in which professional newsmen and newswomen could utilize their abilities under the direction of the Spirit of God--a means in which they

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[1] Colin Black, "Newspaper 'Speaks the Truth in Love'," Asbury Park *Press*, May 21, 1976, p. A-18; and Jane Levere, "Bi-Weekly Slants News for Christ's Followers," *Editor and Publisher*, October 18, 1975, p. 30.

[2] George Cornell, "*National Courier* new newspaper explicitly Christian in perspective," St. Petersburg *Times*, undated.

[3] Rodney Clapp and J. Alan Youngren, "Logos Publishing, High-flier of the '70s, files bankruptcy," *Christianity Today*, November 6, 1981, p. 86.

[4] Lister defines the charismatic renewal as "a modern world-wide movement, predominantly lay, now found among members of all the major Christian denominations. . . . It's distinctive feature is an emphasis on practice of the charismatic gifts described in the New Testament (cf I Cor. 12-14), normally preceeded by the spiritual experience called in Pentecostal terminology, the baptism in the Holy Spirit." A. Quentin Lister, "The Charismatic Movement," in *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, edited by Gordon S. Wakefield, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), p. 85.

> could quickly and accurately put into print articles, editorials and columns bringing the mind of Christ to bear on all the issues.[5]

The initial edition of October 7, 1975, for instance, was a 48-page tabloid featuring articles on New York City's financial problems and the impact of busing on public education. The paper's editor, Bob Slosser, assembled a highly respected editorial staff and some 135 correspondents who were paid at scales approaching much larger secular newspapers.[6] Attracted to the *Courier* was a cadre of "seasoned journalists, all of them committed Christians. . . and all committed to serious reporting on national and religious affairs."[7] An initial flurry of favorable response led founder Malachuk to predict that the publication would soon be sitting next to the *National Enquirer* on newsstands across the country.[8]

Malachuk's statement was not mere hyperbole. The *Courier* did potentially stand in a line of Christian publications that had impacted American social history. Foremost among these was *Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times*, first published in 1878. That periodical incorporated social comment, light news and sermons into its weekly issues. *Herald* readers were encouraged to charitable giving and responded by founding several private welfare organizations, including the Bowery Mission in New York City. In 1907, the magazine led a successful campaign to restore the motto, "In God We Trust," to United States coins.[9] By the mid-1940s, however, the magazine contained mainly devotional articles and personality stories of interest to a narrow group of Protestants and the magazine ceased publication early in

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5 Black, *op. cit.*

6 Clapp and Youngren, op. cit.

7 Ibid.

8 Presentation to perspective correspondents by Dan Malachuk, Anaheim, Calif., August 15, 1975.

9 *People Who Care*, (Chappaqua, N.Y.: Christian Herald Publishing, 1981), p. 3.

1992. *Christian Century* started at about the same time as *Christian Herald*. While its roots were within the Disciples of Christ denomination, *Christian Century* evolved into a nondenominational publication that is still widely quoted today. It too now concentrates on a narrow presentation of Protestant news and commentary. Nelson Burr notes:

> Obviously the denominational and independent religious press has had an immense effect upon the national life and thought. It has shaped the opinions of religious and even of other persons on a broad variety of religious, moral and general public topics and questions.[10]

The *National Courier* was introduced to American readers at a time when interest in religion was on the rise. Jimmy Carter, a "born again Christian," was running for U.S. President, openly proclaiming his religious beliefs. The year of Carter's election, in fact, was called "The Year of the Evangelical," by *Christian Century*.[11] The months following that proclamation, major stories on the rise of evangelicalism, or conservative Protestantism, were featured in *Newsweek* and *Time*.[12] Estimates of the strength of evangelicals varied from 45 to 50 million people.[13] In late 1975, several strong Protestant movements were galvanizing large numbers of Americans and attracting widespread media attention. These included the Moral Majority, Christian Embassy, the Christian Freedom Foundation, and Campus Crusade for Christ. Rice University sociology professor William Martin said at that time, "the evangelicals have become the most active and vital aspect of American religion today."[14] It was this renewed Christian vigor that Malachuk hoped to tap for potential subscribers when he introduced the *Courier*.

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[10] Nelson R. Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 952.

[11] "1976: The Year of the Evangelical," *Christian Century,* December 29, 1976, p. 1165.

[12] "Politics from the Pulpit," *Newsweek,* September 6, 1976; and "Back to that Oldtime Religion," *Time,* December 26, 1977, pp. 52-58.

[13] Ibid.

[14] *Time,* p. 53.

Despite this seemingly favorable climate, the *National Courier* did not attract a large readership and the paper lasted only 23 months. Circulation was projected to become 200,000 at the end of 1976, and nearly half a million soon after that.[15] However, it peaked at 110,000 that year and went steadily downhill during 1977.

While its life was short, the *National Courier* attracted public attention because of its unusual goal of reaching across denominational lines, even reaching outside the boundaries of the Christian faith, to present a newspaper of news and commentary on current events. While the ideal was lauded at the time, no major attempt to publish a similar newspaper has been attempted since the *Courier's* demise.[16] If this was a great experiment in religious journalism, as several claimed, why didn't the concept catch the fancy of the large numbers of Americans who claimed to be born again, and who were lining up to support other Christian endeavors such as the Moral Majority? Why would a publication born of such promise, with a professionally-trained editorial team, fail to last more than two years? This study seeks to find the major causes for the death of the *National Courier*, and identify variables future Christain publishers need to consider before launching an independently-owned, nondenominational publication.

Methodology

The principle research methodology is descriptive analysis. According to Goods and Scates, descriptive analysis allows the researcher to describe a situation and critically assess the performance, establshing goals for future

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15 "*National Courier* Projected Profit Under Various Asumptions re: Circulation," unpublished financial projections, 1975.

16 Phone conversation with Ron Wilson, executive director, Evangelical Press Association, March 19, 1992; phone conversation with Bob Chuvala, former editor, *Christian Herald*, March 20, 1992.

performance.[17] Brockreide suggested that critics use an analysis by explanation, "to account for how an aspect of the rhetorical experience worked by relating it to something more general than itself."[18] The researcher combined historical narrative with an analysis of how the *Courier* performed when compared to established critiera for periodical success, defined here as continued existence. The effort then is to create a versilimilitude, "a reconstruction of the relationship among variables at a particular place during a particular time."[19]

A complete set of the publication was not available to the researcher, despite attempts to secure all copies from former editors and publisher Malachuk. Sixteen of the 52 issues were available and supplemented with several dozen photocopies of key stories from other issues. In addition to studying those issues and the individual stories available, research efforts also included extensive interviews with *Courier* staff and publishing experts, and the reading of memoes obtained from *Courier* staff.

Criteria for Success

General criteria delineating the ingredients for success in Christian periodical publishing do not exist, so the researcher turned to the substantial body of literature related to the success of specialty publications. Specialty publications are aimed at "a fairly narrow, clearly defined audience to whom articles of specific subjects, and more importantly, ads for specific products may be addressed--at a considerably lower price than television could provide."[20]

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17 Cartier V. Good and Douglas E. Scates, *Methods of Research*, (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc. 1954), p. 255.

18 Wayne Brockreide, "Rhetorical Criticism as Argument," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 60 (1974), p. 170.

19 Maryann Yodelis Smith, "The Method of History," *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, 2nd edition, edited by Guido H. Stempel III and Bruce H. Westley, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1989), p. 327.

20 David Shaw, "City Magazines Continue Growing," Los Angeles *Times*, April 5, 1976, page A-1.

While the allure of starting a specialty publication is great, it was estimated at the time of the *Courier's* inception that only 10 percent of new publications survived.[21]

Most studies of publication success center on editorial concept and formula, advertising volume, circulation and management practices. Prijatel and Prior-Miller present a comprehensive building block model which "demonstrates that all other elements of magazine success build on one foundation: a well-focused editorial concept. All decisions are made against the backdrop of solid management."[22] Click and Baird claimed that periodicals succeed if they provide the right editorial idea or "editorial service that appeals to a sufficient number of potential readers," and to enough advertisers.[23]

Editorial: Kobak said the key to success is the creation of an editorial statement of purpose. It is the guiding light by which all future editorial decisions are made.[24] Once a concept is formalized, the editorial mix is defined. Root said this "is the unique and relatively stable combination of elements--articles, departments, and so on--that go to make up each issue." He added that a consistent formula is a sign of good editorial planning and execution.[25]

Audience: A consistent, detailed editorial product needs to be linked with a willing audience. Root said magazines must meet the wishes of readers or die; the publisher's goals are secondary to audience desires.[26] Kobak noted that not all

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21 A. Kent MacDougall, "Nation's New Magazine Binge is Staggering," Los Angeles *Times*, April 9, 1978, page AI-1.

22 Patricia Prijatel and Marcia Prior-Miller, "An Analysis of the Failure of *Flair* Magazine," paper presented to the Magazine Division, Association of Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1991.

23 J.W. Click and Russel Baird, *Magazine Editing and Production*, 3rd ed. (Dubuque: W.C. Brown Publishers, 1983), p. 18.

24 James. B. Kobak, "Are You Planning to Start a New Magazine?" reprint, *Folio: The Magazine of Magazine Management*, (1978), p. 2.

25 Robert Root, *Modern Magazine Editing*, (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, Publishers, 1966), p. 42.

26 Root, p. 48.

human interests have enough devotees to demand a magazine.[27] Stonehocker said start-up publications must rely on available demographic data and readership surveys, direct mail solicitation, and focus group and phone interview research to determine audience interest in an editorial concept.[28]

Design: Peter argued the importance of design:

> It's difficult to alter first impressions. Content will be appreciated later, and in the long run will prevail. However the right design can accelerate the speed of success. A new magazine needs everything going for it.[29]

Bangs added a caveat that readers of specialty publications don't expect dazzling and expensive packaging since they are primarily interested in content.[30] The method of distribution impacts design. A magazine sold on the newsstand needs a bold front page design to attract casual browsers. Publications sold primarily through the mail are not as dependent on attracting the reader with a splashy front page.

Advertising: Specialty publications rely on advertisers interested in reaching a rigidly defined audience.[31] Turner noted that advertising dollars spell the difference between success and failure for most publications, as subscription income alone rarely covers operating expenses.[32] Rosen said a fledgling publisher needs two years to achieve a strong advertising program because most media directors wait to see how a publication sells before investing advertising dollars, and audited circulation figures for a publication aren't compiled by the Audit Bureau of Circulation until a

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27 Kobak, p. 2.

28 Personal interview with Keith Stonehocker, vice president of marketing, *Christianity Today*, October 8, 1981.

29 John Peter, "Designing the New Magazine," *Folio: The Magazine of Magazine Management*, reprint (1978), p. 15.

30 Richard Bangs, "Creating a Special Interest Magazine," Thesis, University of Southern California, 1976, p. 15.

31 "There's New Life in Mass Magazines," *Business Week*, October 13, 1973, p. 84.

32 Henry B. Burner, "A Magazine Circulation Primer," *Folio: The Magazine of Magazine Management*, reprint (1978), p. 19.

periodical is a year old.[33] Palmieri said a successful magazine has 40 to 50 percent of its pages devoted to advertising.[34]

Promotion and Circulation: A strong product with great advertising support still needs to reach its intended audience. Ruggles argued that "direct mail is the only way you can find out whether people like your idea or not--and your price."[35] Most start-up publishers rent mailing lists provided by similar publications. Specialty publications are rarely sold on newsstands because, as Rosen noted, independent distributors balk at placing publications with less than 500,000 readers on already-crowded news racks.[36] Coffman said religious specialty publishers should be pleased when more than 50 percent of their subscribers renew.[37]

Management: Several researchers cite strong management as the essential foundation for periodical success. Obviously, the publication must have enough financial backing to turn a profit. Beyond that, Logan said poor budgeting and a lack of understanding of the periodical publishing field are primary reasons for failure.[38]

While the literature does not specify the criteria for success in religious periodical publishing, articles related to the larger issues of religious writing and publishing are helpful for the purpose of evaluating the failure of the *National Courier*. Engle notes that Christian communicators are not seekers of a relative truth, but instead believe in an absolute truth--the existence of God. Further, they do

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33 Personal interview with Erv Rosen, director of specialty publications, Petersen Publishing Company, August 13, 1981.

34 Personal interview with Paul Palmieri, advertising coordinator, *Saturday Evening Post*, November 21, 1981.

35 Wilma Corder Ruggles, "Building Circulation," *Folio: The Magazine of Magazine Management*, reprint (1978), p. 22.

36 Rosen, op.cit.

37 Personal interview with Roy Coffman, former circulation director, *National Courier*, October 8, 1981.

38 Prijatel and Prior-Miller, op. cit., p. 7.

not publish magazines merely to make money, but also to advance their religious beliefs. However fine lines of theological differences separate many denominational bodies. Pure objectivity, and the profit motive, are secondary priorities.[39] In 1971 Norton compiled a bibliography of articles in religious journalism. He noted a dispute between Christian journalists who want to present "good news" and those who want to "tell the whole story," as objective journalists. He said that when religious publications attempt to present an objective story, church members and advertisers apply an economic boycott, choking off free discussion in favor of "good news."[40] Several writers have criticized the quality of religious journalism, and called for more professional writing, integrity, comprehensiveness, editorial freedom and courage, service to the community and service to the needs of others.[41] Marty said if a national Christian newspaper were to be published it must be independent of a denomination and "directed to the increasingly literate market attracted to magazines like *The Atlantic, Harper's,* and *The Reporter.*"[42]

Research Findings

Dan Malachuk's dream was translated into a *National Courier* editorial plan by Editor Bob Slosser, a former assistant editor with the New York *Times.* Slosser, in turn, enlisted James Talley, an editor and publisher of a Florida weekly paper; John Lawing, former art director at

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39 James F.Engle, *Contemporary Christian Communications: Its Theory and Practice,* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1979).

40 H. Wilbert Norton, J.,. "An Annotated Bibliography of Religious Journalism," Thesis, University of Indiana, 1971, p. 19.

41 Shirwood E. Wirt, "A New Note in Christian Journalism," *Christianity Today,* February 4, 1972; Jill Floerke, "Is The Writer Obsolete?" *Christian Century,* April 24, 1972, p. 445; Alfred Delahye, "Elite Catholic Newspapers of the United States," Diss., University of Missouri, 1970.

42 Martin E. Marty, John G. Deedy, Jr., David Silverman and Roger Lekachman, *The Religious Press in America,* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 63.

Christianity Today; and Howard Norton, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, formerly with *U.S. News and World Report*. **Editorial**: The concept spelled out by the editorial team was explained in promotional brochures and interviews granted to newspaper, radio and television reporters. Slosser proposed "to deal with all the news of significance."[43] Because of the paper's bi-weekly publication schedule, he did not envision stories on fast-breaking hard news events. "The *Courier* looks for trends, for activities and actions affecting substantial segments of the population, and human-interest stories with broad reader appeal."[44] The editorial plan further stated that this coverage must be exemplary, noted for thoroughness and excellence. Further,

> The paper believes that Jesus Christ is the Lord of all creation, and of all situations; therefore its so-called secular and religious news is pretty much integrated throughout the paper. In other words, a good feature with specific Christian overtones receives strong display right among the more worldly features about, say, the government's economic problems and doctors' fuss over malpractice insurance. It's all news for the whole person.[45]

Finally, the *Courier* promised investigative journalism "aimed at plots or schemes--governmental, business or otherwise--that intentionally victimize people, not at isolated mistakes or failures by individuals. The paper, like its Lord, must have the quality of mercy."[46] Hired to help carry out this mandate were two junior editors trained at journalism schools. Dorianne Perrucci, who eventually became features editor, was a graduate of Marquette University. Dave Wimbish, a Pepperdine University graduate, said he came to the *Courier* because it "was going to strive

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[43] *National Courior Profile of a Purpose: A New Dimension in Journalism*, promotional pamphlet, 1975, p. 2.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

to legitimize a concept in Christian journalism hitherto unexplored."[47]

The original editorial mix called for general news, religious news, editorials and columns. While Slosser did not specify the relative importance of space allocated to each editorial element, it was generally assumed the priority would be in descending order of importance, with articles about general news being most important.[48] However, the implementation of Slosser's editorial plan was derailed almost before it began, the first in a series of management miscues that eventually led to the *Courier's* demise. The *Courier*, in fact, underwent three editorial lives: Phase I, "Implementing the Dream;" Phase II, "Retreating into the Comfortable;" and Phase III, "Fading into a Sea of Mediocrity."

During phase I, from October 7, 1975 to mid-1976, the *Courier* tackled subjects such as prostitution, homosexuality and the Equal Rights Amendment. As with any evolving editorial product there were awkward moments. The October 7, 1975 issue featured a front page story on the financial problems of New York City.[49] The story contained adequate background and a thorough analysis. But it ended with the forced notation: "A Christian man who has been following the city's seesawing fiscal crisis for ten years finds this lesson from Proverbs 22:7, 'The rich ruleth over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender.'" Even in the context of the story, the ending seems trite. Further, the unattributed quote, especially of a Bible verse, leaves the reader wondering if perhaps the author didn't just tack on the quote to give his story a moral twist.

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[47] Dorrianne Perrucci, "The Christian Journalist Needs Sanctified Skepticism," unpublished paper, Regents College, 1977, p. 5.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Richard Haitch, "New York on the Brink," *National Courier* October 7, 1975, p. 23.

Most articles in these first *Courier* issues were well-written, provocative and interesting. The January 21, 1976 issue contains an analysis of the continuing race problem in America, "Subtle Racism Exists in a Simmering Peace." Written by James Talley, it included interviews with a number of black leaders--some Christian, some not. This depth and context piece gives the reader insight into the chauldron of strong feelings just below the surface of society. Another front page story analyzed the spiritual values of the 1976 Presidential candidates. It helped provide perspective to superficial media reports of the "born again" phenomenon and Jimmy Carter's famous "lust in my heart" admission.[50]

But barely had phase one been implemented when an order came from publisher Malachuk in mid-April, 1976. The order ushered in editorial phase II, "Retreating Into the Comfortable." In an April memo to staff, Malachuk told them to concentrate on coverage of church and Christian events and avoid any further coverage of politics or social concerns without a direct Christian connection. The reason for this puzzling order became clear a few days after it was first issued. Because the paper was already facing difficult financial problems, Malachuk had organized his entire company, Logos Publishing, as a church within the Independent Assemblies of God denomination. A postal permit application filed at that time identified Malachuk as pastor and elder, while Slosser was listed as an elder.[51] As this was occurring, the Internal Revenue Service was investigating some operations of the Independent Assemblies of God denomination. Staff members were never told whether the IRS had its eye on the *Courier*. But denominational leaders, fearing a loss of their tax-exempt status and other benefits

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[50] James M. Talley, "Forecast '76: Nation to Awaken for a Time," *National Courier*, December 26, 1975, p. 1.

[51] Clapp and Youngren, p. 88.

should the *Courier* appear to be lobbying, asked Malachuk to stop the reporting of general, or so-called secular, news.[52]

This management edict set adrift the editorial philosophy so carefully cultivated by Slosser. Beginning in May, 1976, the paper's stories reflected more concern with denominational meetings, special personalities and important theological trends. The actual mix of articles did not change significantly during Phase II, only the content changed to conform to Malchuk's edict not to report on general news.

Malachuk's intrusion into the editorial domain led to a serious breakdown in communication, a breakdown reflected in the uneven editorial content that followed. Editor Dave Wimbish, remembers the uncertainty of this second phase of the *Courier's* editorial life. He cited a,

> lack of communication between management and staff. For example, Dan Malachuk talked of the paper being "prophetic," so Jim Talley began a "prophesy" page, on which he printed the latest hot stuff from David Wilkerson.
>
> There was also a lack of communication between marketing and editorial personnel. For example, we puffed miracle stories because we thought that's what they wanted. They then told us the puffing of miracles was hurting us.[53]

The puffing of one miracle story backfired, seriously damaging the credibility of the *Courier*. In the October 15, 1976 issue, an article trumpeted the "miraculous" healing of Alice Pattico.[54] Pattico said in an interview that she had 13 holes drilled in her skull during laser beam brain surgery. She also claimed both breasts had been removed because of cancer. But she said she was healed while she worshipped at a Katherine Kuhlman miracle service. At that time, she claimed that the holes in her skull were healed and her breasts were restored. Pattico gave the *Courier* letters she said were from doctors attesting to these miracles.

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[52] Coffman, op. cit.

[53] Perrucci, p. 10.

[54] Alice Pattico as told to Terry Madison, "The doctor rushed to the intercom and yelled, ' . . . the Jesus girl. . . something has happened to her!,'" *National Courier*, August 5, 1977.

Within a few days, questions about the honesty of Pattico's claims jolted the staff when they received an investigation of Pattico conducted by the Bakersfield *Californian*. Further investigation found Pattico had stolen stationery and faked the physicians' statements. The *Courier*, with some embarassment, exposed Pattico in a subsequent story titled, "This 'Miracle' Didn't Happen."[55]

Even though stories on politics were no longer possible, the *Courier* staff did try to tackle relevant issues of interest to church members. While consistent with one of Slosser's original editorial goals, even these stories backfired. Perrucci recalled:

> In one issue, for example, we ran a story about a Christian marriage that failed. The outrage of reader and management reaction that greeted the publication of this story was loud: obviously the couple was not really "born again" if they had broken up; they had not asked Christ to bring them back together, etc. etc. Non-Christians, on the other hand, identified with the problems projected in the coverage of such stories. . . .They were attracted to this honest, realistic sharing insight into Christian life that was not blue-skies-forever.[56]

The straw that broke the camel's back came just as the February 4, 1977 issue was about to be distributed. The front page story reported on a Better Business Bureau (BBB) report in which 120 of 350 Christian organizations surveyed were criticized--either for failure to disclose desired financial information, or for spending too much money on management and overhead. Among those criticized were the Oral Roberts Evangelistic Association, the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and Youth for Christ. All are respected groups within conservative Christian circles. At the end of his objective page one story on the BBB's findings, writer Howard Norton added: "Most of them are probably legitimate and honest. Many of them bear fine

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55 Kenny Waters, "This Miracle Didn't Happen," *National Courier*, October 29, 1976.
56 Perrucci, op. cit., p. 10.

Christian names."[57] On page three, *Courier* staffer Bob Armbruster reported on interviews with several organizations listed in the BBB report.[58] Some said they preferred not to respond to the BBB because of philosophical differences with that organization. Others said they received the inquiry packet too late. A full list of organizations failing to comply was also listed on page three, accompanied by specific reasons for the BBB criticism. Overall the coverage of the BBB report was objective, fair and accurate. Every attempt was made to let the organizations respond. But despite these precautions, the management of Logos refused to let the *Courier* issue be distributed. The already-printed issues were destroyed before they left the printing plant. A testimony from a football player replaced the front page BBB story. Perrucci noted:

> Though we did eventually print the story, it was weeks later, after AP first carried the story. The version we did print was much neutralized in its viewpoint, following a wearying internal debate between staff and management.[59]

After the battles over the BBB stories, phase III of the *Courier's* editorial odyssey was decreed by management. This final phase, "Fading Into a Sea of Mediocrity," lasted from February of 1977 to the final issue of September 16 of that year. In this final phase, publisher Malachuk said future editorial content would emphasize testimony, outreach and evangelism, in addition to positive Christian news about organizations and ministries. Malachuk announced the new "more colorful" *National Courier* in early March, 1977:

> The vision for an international Christian newspaper, given a more spiritual thrust only nine months ago, is clearer now than ever

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[57] Howard Norton, "Better Business Bureau vs. Charities," *National Courier*, unpublished edition dated February 4, 1977, p. 1.
[58] Bob Armbruster, "Surprise! You're Not Approved," *National Courier*, unpublished edition dated February 4, 1977, p. 3.
[59] Perrucci, p. 13.

> before: to inform, to edify, to correct, to support, to entertain God's people, and to seek souls for Him.[60]

By this time, Slosser, the architect of the original editorial mix had been promoted to writing books on special assignment for Logos Publishing and was not involved in day to day *Courier* decisions. The new mandate from management drew an immediate response from John Lawing, then the editor. In a Feb.10, 1977 memo, he wrote:

> The *National Courier* needs to break out of [the] evangelical celebrity cult. We need to show significant things being done by individual Christians and by local congregations. In that way our readers can see what kinds of things they can do for Christ where they are. If we do stories like Oral Roberts, we ought to show the picture as it is. People ought to see it as religious big business. . . .Christian people have a right to know this side of the picture.[61]

Despite Lawing's protests, color covers featuring celebrities such as Pat Boone and Ruth Carter Stapleton began gracing the *Courier's* front page. An Arts and Entertainment section was added with book reviews and shorter personality features. The June 24 issue is typical: national news focused on scientists joining together to fight the theory of evolution, pilgrims flocking to view the image of Christ in Pennsylvannia, and the call of a black Catholic priest for more blacks to join the clergy. International stories included an interview with South African clergyman active in the fight against apartheid and the report of a sermon by an exiled Ugandan minister saying God can love even someone as evil as Idi Amin. That issue had six pages filled with testimonials, including a backpage column, "Witness," a story about a Chinese Buddhist boy in Indonesia who barely survived childhood to eventually become a pastor of one of Washington D.C.'s largest churches.

The last hurrah for the editorial staff was the publishing of an objective news piece noting that members of

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[60] Dan Malachuk, "Lifting Jesus Higher," *National Courier*, March 4, 1977.
[61] John Lawing, memo to Dan Malachuk, February 10, 1977.

the Assemblies of God denomination were asking for an investigation into the conduct of their superintendent, Thomas Zimmerman.[62] The *Courier* story was prompted by a Jack Anderson column that alleged Zimmerman and others had profited from business dealings by using Zimmerman's influence. Since Zimmerman was running for re-election to the denomination's leadership, the story received wide coverage in the *Courier* and elsewhere, further straining relations between the editorial staff and the publisher. Stories like this, however, were also being printed in existing Christian publications such as *Christianity Today, Christian Herald* and *Logos Journal*. By the spring of 1977, the *National Courier* had become a tabloid-sized imitation of existing Christian periodicals.

The final issue of the Courier was dated September 16, 1977. A front page article by publishing board member Jamie Buckingham cited lagging circulation and a $2 million debt as reasons for the demise of the *Courier*. He said,

> Concerned supporters of the Logos ministry gave money--hundreds of thousands of dollars--to keep the paper. But it was apparent the Christians of America did not want a newspaper. . . .So we are bowing to the inevitable--and with tears in our eyes, we say goodbye."[63]

Editorial concept and the audience: Buckingham's charge that the Christians of America were not ready for the *Courier* is a telling statement about the lack of audience research the paper conducted prior to its first issue. The researcher found no evidence that the *Courier's* ambitious editorial plan rested on any audience research or pre-testing of the concept. There was simply a hunch, an untested assumption. That assumption was the 50 million Americans claiming to be born again would want to read news from a Christian

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62 Phyllis Alsdurf, "Dissidents Seek New Investigation of Assembly of God Leadership," *National Courier* August 5, 1977, p. 5.

63 Jamie Buckingham, "With Tears in Our Eyes," *National Courier*, September 16, 1977, p. 18.

perspective. Christian media critic Martin Marty, in his post-mortem on the *Courier*, said people had too little interest in religious news in general and less interest still in charismatic happenings.[64] Slosser provided this analysis:

> My perception of the reading habits of sincere Christians--including charismatic Christians--was off the mark. But we found that this group is not a reading group, except in the realm of Christian teaching. For now, Christians generally do not want to read about what is going on in the world, even from a Christian perspective.[65]

Design: The *Courier* followed established norms for tabloid newspaper design, moderate sized headlines, the use of one or two photos, and the minimal use of white space as a design tool. In general the design was conducive to quick reading. This approach to design--particularly for a front page--was readable and appealing enough for a publication delivered to homes via the mail. When compared to the eye-catching graphics and headlines of the supermarket tabloids, the *Courier's* design fell short.

Advertising: The *Courier* sought advertisers from a broad spectrum of clients. "The *National Courier* carries wholesome advertising that does not dishonor the Lord Jesus Christ or demean mankind."[66] While these guidelines may seem restrictive, they still left a large pool of potential advertisers for the *Courier* to solicit.

The ratio of advertising in the first editions was commendable. *Editor and Publisher* noted: "Approximately one-third of each of the *Courier's* first two issues was made up of ads, two-thirds for religious items (Logos publications, other religious books, cassettes, records, trips, etc.) and one-third for secular products."[67]

Midway through phase II of the editorial changes, in the November 26, 1976 issue, the ratio of advertising to

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[64] Perrucci, p. 24.
[65] Perrucci, addenda, p. A.
[66] *Profile*, p. 2.
[67] Levere, p. 30.

editorial content was 34 percent. However the amount of general advertising had slipped considerably. In that November issue, for instance, the only general advertiser was the Conservative Book Club, which bought a half-page ad. Special ads for travel and real estate, plus a classified section, accounted for about two of the issue's 11 pages of advertising.

Two months after the inception of editorial phase III, the April 1, 1977 issue contained 26 percent advertising, a precipitous drop. Special sections such as that for bookstore advertisers dominated the advertising pages. Again, the only general interest ad was from the Conservative Book Club.

The final issue of the *Courier* contained 39 percent advertising, the percentage skewed upward by a three-page special section of advertising focusing on the Washington D.C. and Milwaukee areas.

Until the final few issues, the *Courier* maintained a respectable percentage of advertising because of a concerted effort to attract regional and small advertisers. These smaller advertisers signed up with the *Courier* to take advantage of the regional editorial issues that were planned, but never published.[68] While the volume of smaller ads is commendable, it takes time to attract such advertisers and to prepare their copy. Perhaps the biggest barrier faced by the *Courier* advertising staff was the paper's low circulation, which peaked at 110,000. The low ciruclation made it impossible for the *Courier* to contract with advertising brokers. According to Coffman, "we needed a couple hundred thousand readers to get recognition for our appeals. The agencies were not interested in giving us their accounts until we could prove a respectable circulation.[69] Publisher Malachuk saw the advertising volume as one positive

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[68] Coffman, op. cit.
[69] Ibid.

accomplishment. "We had both national and regional advertisers, so advertising was not the problem," he noted.[70]

Promotion and marketing: The marketing plans attempted by the *Courier* did not succeed in generating the subscription or newsstand sales necessary to put the paper in the black. The marketing plan that did exist was put into practice too late.

The major search for subscribers relied on the 325,000-household mailing list of Logos Fellowship, most of whom were already receiving *Logos Journal*, a periodical for conservative Christians who believed in miracles, faith healings and other miraculous manifestations. The other major list was rented from *Christianity Today*. In all, about two million names were available for direct mail solicitation, although it is not clear how many households ultimately received the *Courier* mailings because the budget allocations for promotion were fairly low.[71]

The initial direct mail piece seeking subscribers contained excerpts from the first issue's story on busing and a teaser for a story on the movement of Christians to pray for America. The mailer was folded and mailed to potential subscribers without an accompanying pitch letter. Standing alone, the piece is not compelling enough to inspire a subscription from anyone other than a Christian news junkie.

Display ads were purchased in *Christianity Today* and *Moody Monthly*. According to Coffman, one ad in *Moody Monthly* was the best source of new subscriptions. "Unfortunately after the ad ran someone at Moody found out that the *Courier* was owned by Logos, a charismatic publishing company. The theology of Moody's owners is not favorable towards charismatics, so they did not run any further ads."[72]

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[70] Letter received from Dan Malachuk, May 11, 1981.
[71] Coffman,, op. cit.
[72] Ibid.

Newsstand sales were flat. Coffman said a test of markets in the New Jersey area had, at best, a 30 percent sales rate. But Christian bookstore sales showed promise. "We sold about 12,000 to 15,000 copies per issue through Christian bookstores. They were very enthusiastic."[73] Part of the enthusiasm of bookstore owners came from personal contact with a *Courier* distribution agent. The hope was that this program would eventually account for 50 percent of the circulation procurement. In its post-mortem article, *Christianity Today* termed the program "little. . . success."[74] Ultimately, the paper's renewal rate was around 20 percent, an abysmal figure by anyone's standards.[75]

Meanwhile, the circulation procurement and promotional campaigns suffered from poor planning. At the first few editorial staff meetings no one with marketing experience was present. The paper's first budget allocated only $75,000 for national marketing and circulation efforts.[76] Once a marketing staff was in place, the budget was amended to $269,999, a figure too low to finance a year-long promotional campaign for a national newspaper.[77] One reason the promotion budget was so low is that Malachuk apparently hoped to gain a large amount of free publicity via an endorsement from a major denomination, network of churches, or a well-known televangelist. He once commented, "A Christian newspaper can survive if it has the means of publicity, i.e. TV. If a national TV program like the "700 Club" had decided to back us, I think we would have made it."[78]

Management: Poor management decision-making practices are evident in the analysis of editorial, design, advertising and

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[73] Ibid.

[74] "Kaput *Courier*, *Christianity Today*, September 9, 1977, p. 20.

[75] Coffman, op. cit.

[76] Ibid.

[77] *National Courier* 1976 Budget vs. Actual Results for Jan.-Dec. 1976, unpublished budget of *National Courier*, February, 1977.

[78] Malachuk, op. cit.

promotional considerations. Two other incidents help illuminate the fact that the *Courier* was plagued by poor management. Buoyed by faith or naivete, the print run for the first issue was 500,000 copies even though the *Courier* had initially garnered only 2,000 subscribers. Second, owner Malachuk housed the *Courier* in a printing plant he purchased in 1975 for $200,000. He felt the acquisition would save the company $100,000 a year in overhead. However in 1976 alone, some $126,000 was spent just on maintenance and repair. A request from the editorial staff to close the plant and transfer printing to an outside vendor to save the drain on Logos' resources was unheeded.[79]

Finally, the *Courier's* projections were that an initial $500,000 in capital, supplemented by continued fundraising, would keep the paper operating until its circulation reached a profitable level a year or two after inception. The initial capital came from Malachuk's own funds and that of several supporters. But the $500,000 was not enough, as the printing plant maintenance ate away much of the reserve. In 1976, only $11,000 was raised to keep the *Courier* afloat.[80]

Conclusions

The study analyzed the editorial, advertising, promotion and management practices of the *National Courier*. The vision was bold. The risk was great--and the failure pronounced--as the $2 million debt left by the *Courier* eventually forced Malachuk and Logos Publishing to declare bankruptcy in 1981. The publication was professionally written, edited and designed. Its editorial vision captured the attention and the by-lines of some of the nation's best Christian journalists. On nearly every other front, the publication failed to live up to the criteria and standards set forth by

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[79] Memo to *National Courier* Executive Committee from *National Courier* editors, June 13, 1977.

[80] "1976 Budget vs. actual...."

publishing experts as necessary for the survival of a specialty publication. Specifically,

1. The "solid management" necessary for success was lacking. As Clapp and Youngren noted, "Dan Malachuck got into something he did not sufficiently understand when he jumped into a nationally-distributed newspaper."[81]

2. Poor management prevented the smooth implementation of the editorial concept carefully cultivated by editor Slosser and his hand-picked team of professional journalists. The initial vision, a throwback to influential Christian periodicals of the past, was abandoned before it had a chance to be refined. Lawing noted, "Our problem was not that Bob's vision was wrong, but that we never really made significant progress in that direction."[82] The confused editorial content scared away potential advertisers and subscribers.

3. There was insufficient audience understanding. Without hard data to gauge audience acceptance of the concept, Malachuk pushed ahead in blind faith and soon was buffeted by conflicting opinions from readers, advertisers and his denominational hierarchy. Audience research could have saved millions of wasted dollars.

4. Finally, the advertising, promotion and circulation campaigns were not strong enough to carry the *Courier* while it sought a willing audience.

Because there are so many reasons why the *Courier* failed, most of them tied to poor management, the question still begging for an answer is whether the editorial concept is valid. Former editor Lawing says he has spoken with several groups interested in pursuing a publishing venture similar to that of the *Courier*. Yet he wonders if the concept itself will find a willing audience. "Our appeal was too broad. In a sense we were going against the tide of

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[81] Clapp and Youngren, p. 88.
[82] Lawing, op. cit.

specialization. We were out of touch with the audience."[83] On the other hand, the *Courier* just did too many things wrong to be seen as a serious test of this editorial ideal.

Several other issues were raised during the course of the study. These would be fruitful areas for further research in Protestant specialty publishing, and variables to be considered in the formation of a religious specialty publishing theory.

1. How important is the issue of editorial independence mentioned by Marty? Today there are few independent publications. Nearly all are owned by a denomination, or in existence to promote a particular ministry. In the latter category are periodicals such as *Decision* by Billy Graham's ministry and *Focus on the Family* which promotes the ministry of the same name. Both are distributed to more than one million people per issue. An analysis of the impact of these publications on society would be a fruitful area for future study.

2. The notion that 40-50 million "born again" believers are a ready and willing audience for Christian publications needs further exploration. It is quite possible that these "born again" believers share too few cultural and theological traits in common to be united by a desire to read a publication of news and commentary from a Christian perspective that may be theologically different from their own. On the other hand, Slosser may be correct in stating that Christians want only good news and devotional articles, that the *Courier* failed quite simply because it did not meet audience needs.

3. Finally the role of religious faith may need to be considered as a variable in future studies of the success of Christian periodicals. In assessing the failure of the *Courier*, editor Wimbish noted that, "visions of God must go

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[83] Phone conversation with John Lawing, professor of journalism, Regent University. March 19, 1992.

hand-in-hand with thorough planning. Thus I believe the real reason the *Courier* failed was the Pentacostal attitude that, 'This is of the Lord, and the Lord will prosper it'."[84]

The *National Courier*, then, arrived at a time of great religious interest, claiming to be a publication capable of catching the fancy of millions of readers. Instead, it flamed out like a shooting star on the horizon of Christian periodical history, leaving behind more questions than answers.

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[84] Perrucci, addenda, p. B.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF THE PRESS:

NEWSPAPERS AS A SHADOW POLITICAL ARENA

IN 1848 IN FRANCE
AND
1917 IN RUSSIA

"In all our revolutions, counsel is kept, the word of command is given, and the impulse is directed to the office of a journal."

-- Alphonse de Lamartine, observing the French Revolution of 1848

"The plan for an all-Russian political newspaper...is the most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparation of the uprising."

-- V.I. Lenin, planning the Russian Revolution of October 1917

Presented to the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication 75th Convention, Aug. 5, 1992, Montreal, Canada

by

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ABSTRACT

Newspapers have been pivotal in the historical development of revolutions, primarily in nourishing the emergence of an oppositional shadow political arena that presents alternative visions of government. This study juxtaposes the role of reformist, republican newspapers in igniting the "unintended" February revolution in France with Lenin's deliberate use of newspapers in his bid for power in Russia. Predominantly focused on the role of the press as a catalyst in times marked by the convergence of broad societal forces for change, the paper also considers the press as a factor in the wholly different outcomes of these revolutions. The French journalists, surprised to find themselves in power after the abdication of the king, emerged from the shadow political arena to expand press freedom as well as voting rights, only to lose the power they had gained within six months. The Bolsheviks, who rapidly introduced government censorship, never allowed a new shadow political arena to emerge to compete with their vision of how to rule, and created a government that lasted for seventy years.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF THE PRESS:

NEWSPAPERS AS A SHADOW POLITICAL ARENA

IN 1848 IN FRANCE AND 1917 IN RUSSIA

by
Lisa W. Holstein
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The French Revolution of February 1848 that founded the Second French Republic and the Russian Revolution of October 1917 were newspaper revolutions. Not only did newspapers provide an organizing focal point for political opposition, but it was journalists who assumed power in the new governments that each revolution put into place. In each revolutionary milieu, the newspapers were able to fill an important gap in a time of growing social tension -- to act as, in effect, a shadow political arena. From this vantage point outside formal government structures, the newspapers provided an alternative means for democratic participation by representing the opinions of people who believed their elected representatives were no longer serving their interests. The format of the printed page, distributed to a mass audience, gave structure to an oppositional viewpoint that could be updated and amplified with each new edition, with the power to rapidly incorporate changing events or popular reaction to what was printed. The newspapers forced the governments to react to the agenda set by the press and at the same time created coherent alternative visions to the existing governments.

The Bolsheviks exploited the potential of this shadow political arena quite deliberately, the French less self-consciously so -- a decisive factor in the eventually different outcomes of the two revolutions, the Bolsheviks remaining in control and the French journalists losing the power they had won. Lenin's journalists were committed propagandists who actively sought to topple the government and install themselves as revolutionary leaders; the French journalists hoped only to spark reform. While this difference in the designs of the French and Bolshevik *journalists* is ultimately illuminating, the similarities in the role of their *newspapers* is notable -- the effect was the same despite the differences in intentions. Events revolving directly around the newspapers played a crucial role at a decisive moment. Both in Paris in 1848 and in Petrograd[1] in 1917, various interrelated crises were simmering for a host of pre-existing reasons in each social, economic, and political climate. These larger issues were instrumental in framing the conditions in which the newspaper-based shadow political arena could emerge. But the revolutionary "moment" in each case grew out of government reaction to the newspapers' political agenda:

-- In 1848, a newspaper report on February 21 set in motion an unplanned chain of events that within 48 hours brought down the government and drove King Louis Phillipe to abdicate. It was the journalists themselves who quickly undertook to form a new government, the Second French Republic, and to organize "universal" elections by male citizens.

-- In 1917, newspapers published by the Bolsheviks had filled their pages throughout the late summer and fall with calls for a revolution, although the party had not yet attempted to initiate an

uprising itself. When the Bolsheviks' primary newspaper at the time (Pravda publishing under its temporary pseudonym, Rabochi Put) was suppressed for subversion on October 24, it gave Lenin the critical event he needed to finally convince vacillating party leaders to act on their insurrection plans.[3] Lenin's Bolsheviks seized power the very next day.

These commonalities, and parallels that can be found in the categories of differences also present in each uprising, provide appropriate models for considering the role of the press as a shadow political arena in historical revolutions. Both the French and Russian revolutions occurred in an age when newspapers were the mass media. Before broadcasting had achieved its commanding role, newspapers were the only access to political discourse outside the reach of an orator or discussion club, in a form that was more up-to-date than pamphlets and that traveled beyond the reach of wall posters. In those times, an aspiring politician or a radical revolutionary almost inevitably became a journalist. The French republicans who sparked the February Revolution of 1848 were journalists by profession and thus, by definition, actively interested and engaged in politics. The leaders of the Bolshevik Party saw themselves as professional revolutionaries, an activity in which a career as a journalist was indispensable, one identity indistinguishable from the other.[3] Theirs was a tradition traceable to Karl Marx, whose intermittent career as a journalist included not only writing for radical newspapers, but also serving as European correspondent for the mainstream New York Tribune.[4] Journalism was the most direct route for propagating political views that could change a government -- or, indeed, the world.

France must be a centerpiece for any exploration of the historical role of the press in the birth of modern participatory democracies, particularly for their birth in a context of revolutionary turmoil. Rights to free expression and press freedom were central ideals from the time of France's first democratic revolution in 1789. These remained important goals of subsequent French uprisings over the course of the next century, in a cycle of democratic revolutions giving way to conservative counter-revolutions. Demands for a free press and free expression were a particularly important cause of the Revolution of 1830[3] and still held their power to rally the French public by 1848 when -- after the third try -- the monarchy was finally overthrown and universal manhood suffrage was won by citizens seeking to realize, after 50 years, the unfulfilled promise of that first revolution of 1789.

It might be assumed that the Russian Revolution of 1917 would be an appropriate juxtaposition of the role of the press in the birth of modern dictatorships as opposed to democracies, but that would inappropriately characterize the Bolshevik revolutionary program of 1917. More significant is the similar "populist" content of the shadow political arena in which both the French and the Russian newspapers operated. The Bolsheviks were successful in gaining mass-based support, "at least among the soldiers and workers, because they said what their audience wanted to hear."[4] In the years leading up to 1917, Lenin and his Bolshevik Party professed the same commitments to "freedom of the press" and rule by "the people" as the French republicans. The vast differences between the French republicans' socialism and the Bolshevik's version of Marxism is explained in how they defined these critical terms, and it is in the context of those definitions that the

different outcomes of the revolutions can be understood. The French republican government established in 1848 had failed within five months. The Bolsheviks in 1917 created a government that lasted for 70 years.

-- THE PRESS AND POLITICS --

The existence of an interlocking relationship of the press with politics and governments is so fundamental to the history of journalism that it requires no further elucidation. A related truism of the history of journalism is that a "free" press is explicitly linked to political democracy both in its philosophical coupling with rights to free expression and in its instrumental role of "creating" the informed citizenry upon which a democratic government must depend if its existence is to derive from the consent of the governed.[7] The right to consent was a foundation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the touchstone of the French Revolution of 1789 which sought to make the king accountable to "the people." Voting rights in France, however, were initially granted on the basis of property ownership.

The French republican opposition in 1848 sought to erase those limits, under the philosophy that property owners, aristocrats, workers and peasants should all have equal rights to participate in their government. The Bolsheviks, in contrast, envisioned participatory rule by a sharply restricted group of citizens, the proletariat alone, led by its vanguard. Lenin's definition of "the people" owes less to the liberal ideals of the French republicans than to the brief and bloody ascendancy of its most radical elements who achieved control of the evolving revolution in 1792-94 and inaugurated the "Terror" under Robespierre and his Committee of Public Safety. Under Bolshevik rule the old aristocracy of

Russia was to be categorically excluded from the new "people's" government and ultimately wiped out. The people's will was to be defined and interpreted by the Bolsheviks, as the vanguard of the workers and peasants who had not yet achieved a full consciousness of their true interests. Once the masses had achieved this understanding, the Bolsheviks would have their consent to govern. The Bolshevik press was therefore assigned a vital role in educating the masses -- not in the French Enlightenment-based conception of a free marketplace of ideas, but rather as purveyor of the one true Marxist idea. The Bolsheviks were convinced that "they and they alone had access to 'true knowledge.' The task of the revolutionaries, therefore, was. . .to bring the fruits of Marxist analysis to the proletariat."[9] These differences in anticipated roles for the press are evident in the very names of their newspapers: French republicans selected names such as Le National and La Réforme, where Lenin chose Pravda -- the Russian word for "Truth."

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 (Old Calendar) replaced the French focus on personal, individual freedoms with an emphasis on freedom in groups. Class-based rights were the only appropriate means to define a press that was truly free. Marx's dictum that, "in the absence of press freedom, all other freedoms are illusory"[9] could be carried out only under a new definition because, as Lenin interpreted it:

> Freedom of the press of a bourgeois society consists in freedom of the rich systematically, unceasingly and daily in the millions of copies to deceive, corrupt and fool the exploited and oppressed masses of the people.[10]

His plan was for "state authority" to take "*all* printing plants and *all* paper and distribute them justly. . . first to the government in the interests of the majority of the people."[11]

Lenin's concept did include secondary redistribution of press rights to large parties or groups with certain membership levels, but completely prohibited access to press ownership by individuals or by groups of the bourgeois class (for they did not speak for "the people"). This concept, however, was among the many elements of Lenin's vague visions of government structures that never quite moved beyond the initial "state authority" phase, as the state became inexorably linked with Communist Party authority in the dual system of government that emerged in the Soviet Union.

-- THE EARLY POLITICAL PRESS IN FRANCE --

The French operating definition of a free press was an example of what Lenin dismissed so contemptuously. Private, "bourgeois" owners earned capitalistic profits from their newspaper sales. By 1848, advertising also was beginning to come into play, and Paris had its earliest version of the American "penny press" in La Presse, a newspaper that sold for half the price of other newspapers and made advertising a more important source of revenue than subscriptions.[12] French entrepreneurs no doubt viewed newspapers as a route to financial success, but this was by and large not their sole emphasis -- publishers chose journalism as a route to building wealth because it also offered them the means to express a political viewpoint, as Jeremy Popkin has shown in his classic studies: "Politics was virtually the only concern of the majority of the new papers."[13] The whole point of the diverse French press was seen as means to enable newly participating citizens to engage in governing themselves and participate in rational -- and political -- discourse.

This is a key to the French revolutionaries' emphasis on the importance of a free press, which could spread ideas and awaken

French citizens for the first time to the sense of having a role to play in the affairs of government. This belief in such a role for newspapers was never lost in France, despite waves of encroachments on the liberties initially achieved in 1789. Strict press controls were imposed by Napoleon Bonaparte and maintained throughout his reign under the Consulate from 1799-1804 and as Emperor 1804-1814, with even more extreme repression taking hold under the laws of 1814-15, following the restoration of the monarchy under Louis XVIII. Despite harassment and fines, a concerted campaign of lawsuits brought by the government[14] and intermittent closures, French journalists continued to agitate for relaxation of restrictions on the press. The centrality of the concern for press liberty was made starkly evident in the Revolution of 1830,[15] which toppled Louis XVIII's successor, Charles X, and founded a new constitutional monarchy under Louis Phillipe, "the Citizen King," who was held to be accountable to the public -- and whose unsatisfactory, if ostensibly parliamentary rule the press worked vigorously to undermine.[16]

Free expression in its broadest sense was a core issue around which the various strands of reform-minded republicanism, from socialist to constitutional monarchists, had coalesced in 1848. It can be said that without the shadow political arena that operated through the press, there would have been no revolution in Paris at that moment in February 1848, when a reform movement centered on rights to free expression became a rallying point for insurrection. The revolution was the immediate and direct result of a newspaper's report on a free speech movement known as the "banquet campaign," a critical event that will be detailed below.

The importance of the French press as a shadow political arena is a natural outgrowth of the earliest development of newspapers in France, when the press defined the terms of political debate and, by the act of describing in print the supporters of different viewpoints, established the outlines of early political parties. Newspapers not only served to "dissect the content of the debates, but also to identify and categorize the participants in them."[17] Besides teaching the public to recognize various political factions by assigning labels to them, news summaries "drew for the deputies themselves the proper conclusion from their own proceedings."[18] Popkin, focused on the years surrounding 1789, concludes it was the newspapers, themselves divided along partisan lines, "that gave the politics of the revolutionary decade its party structure."[19]

Newspapers in France served in a role parallel to the committees and headquarters of 20th century political parties, while France's distinctive political club movement provided lectures, speeches and discussion for large numbers and became the equivalent of electoral and party machines.[20] The offices of French journals served political leaders as "permanent arenas of discussion and sometimes of organization, as had been quite clear in 1830."[21] Indeed, a newspaper functioned as a kind of "proto-party," creating a space from within which opposition groups could draw unity. In this shadow political arena, journalists developed an overlapping identity as opposition politicians that was wholly in keeping with the French definition of political involvement as the raison d'être of journalism.

-- THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS IN RUSSIA --

The French politician-journalists had a less self-consciously theoretical intent in their use of the newspapers than Lenin. In

France of 1848, the factions gathered around newspapers neither thought of themselves as parties nor expected to develop a single, coherent theory of government through the vehicle of their newspaper. This, however was Lenin's explicit goal. He saw the creation of a newspaper as an essential precursor to the establishment of a successful political party. "We must have as our immediate aim," he wrote in What Is To Be Done?, his 1902 outline of what became his Bolshevik party, "*the founding of a party organ that will appear regularly and be closely connected with all the local groups*" (italics Lenin's).[22] Lenin's intent was to use a newspaper for theoretical development that would unite the various small groups of intellectuals dedicated to Marxism in the formation of a coherent political program within a single revolutionary party.

This novel vision of the centrality of a newspaper to formulating a political program was challenged by rival factions within the social democratic movement of the time. A criticism from another radical newspaper editor who challenged Lenin's conviction expressed the more common view: "It is not a newspaper that can create a party organization, but vice versa."[23] Lenin's emphasis on a newspaper as the core of a revolutionary party is a reflection of his belief that the press *is* the party. The point was fundamental to every aspect of his thinking not only about "What is to be done?" but especially of how to do it. As John Ehrenberg puts it, "the press stands at the very center of the whole *corpus* of Leninism."[24]

Journalists and revolutionaries were co-terminus in Lenin's press theory; the revolutionary party and editorial board of the party organ were identical. Even beyond writing and propagating

the content, the very process of producing and distributing a newspaper was part of Lenin's scheme for building reliable, disciplined cadres who could lead the coming revolution. But this was to be a value-added outcome. His primary concern was in using the party organ for the formulation of developments in Marxist theory. The party press was, above all, intended to serve as a "processing point for theory."[25]

-- THE DEBT TO 1789 --

Lenin's focus on grand and sweeping theories that were to be put into practice is commonly linked to the Marxist intellectual tradition, but also has direct roots in the idealistic political philosophies of the French revolutionaries of 1789, which Lenin was among the first to acknowledge. The emphasis on property rights in the opening articles and its consecration in the final article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man was hardly fitting in the context of Marxist theories in which the Bolshevik revolutionaries were steeped; and no less a personage than Karl Marx said he preferred to avoid looking back to 1789 as a model for revolution, decrying identification with any "reactionary cult of the past."[26] But Lenin frequently invoked the spirit of 1789. He called the Bolsheviks the inheritors of the French revolutionary tradition, "the Jacobins of contemporary Social-Democracy."[27] A similar inclination to associate themselves with the idealism, if not the violent radicalism, of the revolutionary past is evident as well in the intellectualizing tendencies of the French journalist-politicians of 1848. Such a commitment to providing a forum for broad philosophical discourse can be seen as a precondition for newspapers to act in a shadow political arena -- not as mere recorders of events, but as analysts who placed events in a broader

political context. Newspapers were the ideal vehicle to act as carriers of opinion and centerpieces for the development of alternative social theories.

The theories that underlay the revolutions were indeed sweeping. The French revolutionaries of 1789, as well as the Bolsheviks in 1917, had a goal far beyond merely changing the government. "Their aim was to correct the workings not just of the political machine, but of human society as a whole."[28] As Tocqueville wrote about 1789, they were "aiming lower than the government and striving to reach society itself, on which government rests."[29] They sought to change society by the "creation of a new man -- or at least the liberation of pristine man, in all his natural goodness and simplicity, from the cruel and corrupting prison of the traditional social order,"[30] just as the Bolsheviks intended to create a "new Soviet man."

The goals of 1789 were the direct inspiration for the February 1848 French revolution, which is generally understood to have been a reaction to the failure of France's rulers to act in the idealistic spirit of the Revolution of 1789. As the moderate republican Lamartine said at the time, "The revolution of 1848 is nothing more than a continuation of the former....In both it was a moral idea....This idea, this principle, is THE PEOPLE ...this accession of the masses to political power."[31] The members of the republican opposition in the years leading up to 1848 considered themselves the inheritors of the ideals of 1789 -- and of 1792 and 1830, "with the realization that the full human potential of those revolutions had not yet fully emerged."[32] As the Soviet academician Boris Koval acknowledged, "The Great French Revolution was the source of all communistic, anarchic and socialist views in the

subsequent decades, and of the corresponding moral systems. The new aspirations were already very clearly manifest in the course of the French Revolution of 1830, but even more so in the development of the European revolutionary cycle of 1848."[33] The ideals the republicans and the Bolsheviks stood for in 1848 and 1917 thus both have roots essentially traceable to 1789. But the manner in which they sought to achieve their goals differed markedly -- one for reform, one for revolution -- and this difference was evident in the different roles that they assigned to their newspapers.

The French republicans of 1848 to some extent shrank from calling for revolution to oust their "Citizen King," Louis Phillipe. Memories were too strong of the guillotine and the wholesale collapse of the social order that had followed the first end to the French monarchy with the beheading of Louis XVI. As one contemporary observer noted of those February days of 1848, when barricades went up throughout Paris, "Everything in this exhibition inspired fear, even to the affectation, more ridiculous than dangerous, of resuscitating the obsolete vocabulary of 1793," referring to how the mobs had taken to calling people "citizen" again.[34] Lenin, recasting even the summary trials and rampant executions of the Terror in terms of inevitable class warfare, did not share their qualms.

-- THE RUSSIAN NEWSPAPER REVOLUTION --

Where the French believed in reasoned voices attracting followers to their cause of reform in the free marketplace of ideas, Lenin sought to use the press as a central tool for *creating* a revolution. His famous 1901 definition of a newspaper makes that utterly clear: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer."[35]

After the February revolution of 1917 overthrew the tsar, the Provisional Government established to organize elections also ended censorship. Lenin immediately broadened the goals for his newspaper beyond theory building among the vanguard into acting as a mass recruiter of votes to elect radical Bolsheviks to the local citizens' councils, the soviets. As the Provisional Government faltered, the Bolshevik press became an increasingly important part of the shadow political arena that gained strength from the "power vacuum at the center."[36]

As in Paris of 1848, the newspapers in Russia's main cities in 1917 were diverse and lively. By the time of the Bolsheviks' successful coup in October, there were 150 newspapers and 450 journals available in Petrograd, and more than 100 newspapers and 270 journals published in Moscow.[37] As the shape of the new, post-tsarist government was being created, the newspapers were the carriers of stirring political debates -- as well as a great deal of news about robberies, murders and assaults in that difficult and chaotic period. The Bolshevik press was blatantly subversive, openly calling for the workers to seize arms and seize power, and accusing the Provisional Government of a wide variety of illegal activities, especially in regard to its conduct of World War I, a key point of dissension. The tone of the Bolshevik press was so strong and its claims so outrageous that some distributing agencies refused to handle the newspapers.[38] Referring specifically to the Bolshevik newspapers, the leader of the Provisional Government, Aleksandr Kerensky -- just a week before being ousted by the Bolshevik coup -- expressed his dismay at the result of too much journalistic liberty: "Owing to the absolute freedom of the press, the government is not in a position to combat printed lies."[39]

The "absolute freedom" of which he spoke didn't stop the government for long from making its final mistake. On October 24, Kerensky's government banned two Bolshevik newspapers (along with two reactionary ones calling for a return of tsarism) and declared Lenin and other key Bolshevik leaders state criminals -- finally giving Lenin the ammunition he needed to unite the divided party leadership behind launching the coup attempt.[40] Leon Trotsky described the central role of a newspaper in igniting the Bolshevik revolution at that moment:

> With a few hours' delay the newspaper suppressed by the government came out under protection of the troops of a committee which was itself liable to arrest. That was insurrection. That is how it developed.[41]

-- THE FRENCH NEWSPAPER REVOLUTION --

Similar credit as the igniting event that launched the revolution goes to a newspaper in Paris of 1848. Perhaps the most significant testament to its pivotal role is Tocqueville's, who describes that critical moment when a newspaper account took on a life of its own:

> I am in a position to state, although it sounds hardly credible, that the programme which thus suddenly turned the banquet into an insurrection was resolved upon, drawn up and published without the participation or the knowledge of the members of parliament who considered themselves to be still leading the movement which they had called into existence. The programme was the hurried work of a nocturnal gathering of journalists and Radicals, and the leaders of the Dynastic Opposition heard of it at the same time as the public, by reading it in the papers in the morning.[42]

The actions of newspapers and journalists are inseparably embedded in the events leading up to that moment. Throughout all analyses of the founding of the Second Republic in February 1848 flow continuous references to the newspapers as the locus of the republican opposition, factions that had steadily grown in strength throughout the reign of Louis Phillipe, to the point where the

names of newspapers were sometimes used to refer to the political groups with which they were associated.[43]

Interpretations for the exact nature of the social unrest that led to the February success -- and then the June failure -- of the republican revolution are abundant, ranging from agricultural crises to urban immigration and unemployment. Karl Marx saw inevitable historical forces acting out his theories of proletarian versus bourgeois interests.[44] The deep-seated nature of dissatisfaction with the government is well-documented, providing ample evidence of broad social tension that inspired a shadow political arena to emerge. While an earlier consensus of opinion that called the revolution "accidental" has since been modified to incorporate greater attention to its root causes,[45] there is agreement that the timing was undoubtedly a surprise to all the actors: "Most of the depositions taken later from active fighters show that the people who took over the February revolution were swept away by enthusiasm and were totally unprepared to seize the power that fell into their hands."[46] Tocqueville's word for the revolution is "unforeseen."[47] An active participant in events, he reports that "the victors had been as much surprised by success as their adversaries were by defeat."[48] This lends further credence to its origin in a newspaper article that links it directly to the free expression controversy as expressed in the banquet campaign.

The banquet campaign, in which like-minded citizens would gather to hear after-dinner speakers express a reformist, republican platform,[49] grew out of the frustrations of the republican opposition. A minority in the Chamber of Deputies, the opposition had grown increasingly dissatisfied with their failures to legislate the changes they desired.[50] Their overriding concern

was for voting rights for all male citizens. After two proposals for an extension of suffrage were rejected by a majority of deputies, the opposition movement coalesced around what was perceived as the only way to circumvent government restrictions on organized dissent: they began a series of "private" dinners at which speeches would be given, seeking to mobilize public opinion throughout France on the issue of the vote.[51] Newspapers advertised the banquets, sold tickets from their offices and acted as organizers. In early 1848, ticket sales for what was to be the final banquet in Paris grew so large that the government was moved to intervene. Meetings between government and opposition leaders led to a compromise by the republicans -- their lack of revolutionary intent evidenced in their desire to avoid a direct confrontation with the government.

How this compromise on the final banquet was reported in the republican newspaper edited by Armand Marrast, Le National, launched the chain of events that put the Second Republic in place. The article published on February 21 "managed to give the description an official and battling air."[52] Tocqueville's characterization was that "it read like a decree."[53] Others have made the same comment about the report of the rather innocuous compromise plan: republican leaders would march along the Champs-Élysées with a formal acceptance of the invitation to attend the banquet signed by 110 opposition deputies. This evidence of their desire to attend the banquet would signal to the government the deputies' commitment to free speech. "Harmless as this might sound, it gave -- when splashed across the front page of Le National in bold-face type -- a menacing (and not altogether accurate) impression of opposition unity and determination in the

face of government hostility."[54] One author characterizes Marrast as being deliberately "determined to make the most of the occasion" and with this purpose in mind he "spread a manifesto across three columns of the front page of his newspaper."[55]

Intentional provocation or not, Le National's report of the plans inspired the government to formally ban the event. Official posters went up all over Paris proclaiming it illegal. Tocqueville recounted how one newspaper article thus forced all sides to dig into positions with which they did not necessarily agree. Those who had "had enough of the banquets" were now "forced to persevere in this bad course so as not to present an appearance of retreating," while at the other extreme, conservatives who were ready to make concessions felt driven "to deny even the right of meeting in private banquets and to refuse the country any hopes of reform."[56] Political scientist Saguiv Hadari calls this phenomenon "overshooting," in which an opposition that neither expected nor intended or hoped to start a revolution at that time, nonetheless "unintentionally launched the voyage, indeed unwittingly raised the wind by the clamor of their own voices." He reinforces Tocqueville's point in the language of the modern social sciences: "The stunning and unexpected macrophenomenon of revolution is explained simply by the aggregation of microbehaviors of political agents, an intelligible yet unpredictable and uncontrollable effect,"[57] the key "microbehavior" being Marrast's newspaper story.

Outside the opposition circles directly involved in orchestrating the compromise, the publicity had already led others to prepare to take up the cause. Although Le National and even the more radical La Réforme went along with the cancellation,[58] the student editors of the Latin Quarter papers, L'Avant-Garde and La

Lanterne du Quartier Latin decided to sponsor the banquet in the teeth of opposition and began collecting arms." An editorial in L'Avant-Garde explained their militancy: "We understand that it is up to democracy to conquer or die."[60]

The opposition newspapers served as headquarters for meetings to discuss what their reaction should be to apparent public outrage. At La Réforme, the most radical opposition journalists had decided on a cautious "wait-and-see" attitude.[61] The memoirs of a participant report it was resolved that the staff would go to watch what sort of crowd assembled on the evening of February 21 to show defiance of the ban and, "In case of an outbreak, each member was to repair immediately to the office of La Réforme, to organize the movement with vigour, and to give it a Republican character."[62] The journalists were not revolutionaries; but they also wanted no other faction to beat them to the leadership role if the masses were moved to insurrection.

The reaction in the streets was continued demonstrations on the 22nd, led by the students of the Latin Quarter newspapers. Barricades began to go up around Paris. The government called out the National Guard later that day, and more were posted around the city on the 23rd, but cracks developed among the troops, some refusing to answer the call-up, while others handed over their arms to the street demonstrators. On the afternoon of the 23rd, Louis Phillipe dismissed his ministry. But the crowds stayed in the streets, pressing their demands for real reform in the shape of the new ministry to be appointed the next day.

As Lamartine tells the story in his history of the revolution, "About six o'clock in the evening, a little column of republicans, of the younger trading population, issued from the Rue Lepelletier

and formed a silent group before the door of Le National newspaper, as though it were the appointed place of rendezvous."[63] This was the starting point for a procession that ended in the massacre of the 23rd, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs guards ordered troops protecting its offices to fire on the crowd. Fifty-two were killed and countless more wounded. The crowd scattered, but when the bodies of the dead were piled on a funeral wagon later that evening, the demonstrators seized the wagon and paraded it through the city. The marchers pounded on doors throughout the night, awakening townspeople to go to the hundreds of barricades that had sprung up in the past two days. When Louis Phillipe appointed a new ministry the next morning, it was too late to preserve the government or his crown.[64]

-- THE SHADOW ARENA ASSUMES CONTROL --

While Lenin had deliberately worked from the shadow arena to plot a coup attempt and had benefited from having a plan of attack prepared, the French journalists, despite being taken by surprise that an uprising was underway, moved quickly to capitalize on the spontaneous revolt that was unfolding.[65] La Réforme, apparently on its own recognizance, took charge of the post office when Louis Phillipe abdicated on the 24th -- focusing on yet another means of communication -- and a delegation of two editors assumed command of police headquarters. This was effected without opposition, the prefect of police having already fled the city.[66]

After the king's abdication, the founding government of the Second French Republic was led by journalists who owed their accession to power to their reputations as newspapermen. Only republicanism was an acceptable form of government to the masses in the streets, and the journalists were "the best-known republicans

of their day."[67] They were thus able to step out of the shadow arena into the political vacuum and take up the reins of governance. But with this change from the shadows to official positions, an enormous structural problem was built into their provisional government from the moment it assumed power. The different agendas represented by the radical La Réforme, the more moderate Le National[68] and other reform-minded newspapers had peacefully co-existed and reinforced each other in the shadow political arena, but became a source of divisiveness once they were expected to share formal leadership of the Second Republic over its direction and priorities.

Once in power, opposition unity dissolved -- "hence the 'undershooting' effect of a victorious yet impotent revolution," to return to Hadari's model. Hadari speculates that there is an intimate connection of the failure of the new government with the original "overshooting" effect of the revolution itself: "Both these disconcerting macrophenomena result from the spread of revolutionary sentiments through the larger population, leading to a sudden and powerful popular uprising but exhausting itself in the process."[69] This encompasses Leon Trotsky's depiction of "the irruption of the masses on the stage of history," mobilized through new political institutions such as the political clubs,[70] but also suggests that the power of the press in the shadow political arena cannot sustain its energy in the transference from an opposition role. The new French leadership had to merge competing views together under the republican umbrella in a context of free speech and liberal democracy, where no one was under obligation to refrain from expressing dissenting views -- whether within the government, or in the newspapers.

-- ROUTES TO DIFFERING OUTCOMES --

The emergence of an anti-republican shadow political arena was nurtured into existence by the victorious French journalists themselves.[71] "Absolute freedom of speech" was the primary emphasis of the new republican administration, and anyone was given the right to open a political club or to found a newspaper, "without formalities."[72] The provisional government presided over the flourishing of a free press, with scores of new newspapers appearing in Paris.[73] Significantly for the electoral victory of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte before the year was out, at least five Napoleonic newspapers were circulating in Paris by mid-year.[74]

The shadow political arena, with newspapers again at its center in an opposition role, gained strength as the French republican political alliance stumbled as a government. The republican journalists lacked formal structures outside of their newspapers in which to consolidate and institutionalize the mass sentiments they had represented. Their competing philosophies were acted out in a Chamber of Deputies representing many points on the political spectrum and they were thus unable to reliably command a legislative majority. The universal manhood suffrage they instituted had strengthened the voice of rural France, and the mass of voters to whom the republicans were so eager to give the vote promptly sent moderates to the Constituent National Assembly when elections were held in April. The republican leadership was unable to sustain the economic reforms instituted during its initial rule as a provisional government. The new majority set the stage for the conservative counter-revolution, passing legislation that began to move the Assembly inexorably to the right.[75]

As militant workers began to agitate against the steady erosion of the benefits they had initially been granted or promised by the February leadership, their demonstrations for workers' rights called forth angry denunciations in republican newspapers. But now transformed into the voice of state power, Le National and La Réforme failed to stem the rising tide of protest which would eventually topple the journalists' government.[76] The authority of the republican press, so impressive in February, had evaporated by June, when the workers' demonstrations mushroomed into open insurrection that had to be violently suppressed.

After the June uprising, moderate and conservative forces found unity in fear of the mob. The Assembly interpreted the uprising "as a consequence of the excessive liberty of propaganda first introduced in February"[77] and passed its first laws against free speech with regulations on political clubs that same month; a press law followed in July. Lacking the republicans' commitment to ideals about a free press, the moderates and conservatives were willing to impose controls.

The French republicans' commitment to press freedom that helped to spread the sentiments that undermined their rule presents a stark contrast to Lenin's "almost instantaneous introduction of censorship"[78] as a critical governing technique. One of the Bolsheviks' first acts was to prohibit criticism of the new regime with the October 1917 Decree on the Press. In keeping with Lenin's definition that press freedom extended only to newspapers that spoke for "the people," an immediate campaign against the "bourgeois press" was launched, with seven of the largest circulating newspapers in Petrograd closed down on October 26.[79] With the Civil War to lend urgency to his focus on achieving unity,

Lenin presided over the continued repression of newspapers until by a year after the revolution, "the last vestiges of a critical, non-Bolshevik press disappeared."[80] By December 1918, the complete domination of a one-party press was established.[81]

Although it achieved and then maintained its leading position by sheer force, the Bolshevik press also felt the impact of the transition from acting in the shadow political arena to serving as the voice of political authority as its revolutionary energy ebbed away. By the autumn of 1918, Lenin felt compelled to publish in Pravda an article criticizing the rest of the party newspapers for printing so much "political trivia" and unnecessary repetition of worn-out themes. The 8th Party Congress in December 1919 urged editors to make changes because newspapers had become "dry and dull and were having far less effect on mass public opinion than was desired."[82] Dry and dull notwithstanding, central press control was maintained as a fundamental operating principle of the nature of the political system the Bolsheviks built.[83]

Although Popkin wrote the following words about the earlier 1789-99 French revolutionary cycle, his point about the double-edged power of a free press is no less applicable to what occurred in France in 1848 -- and what was avoided in Russia in 1917: "the press was as powerful a force in undermining the legitimacy of each successive set of revolutionary leaders' claims to speak for the people as it was in making the assertion of those claims possible."[84] In Russia, Lenin had taken steps to ensure that while the press would serve its purpose in asserting Bolshevik claims, it would have no opportunity to operate in its divisive mode. No shadow arena was allowed to emerge in the newspapers, or as

broadcasting developed, to offer a mass-distributed alternative vision to Bolshevik rule.

None of the foregoing is intended to suggest that the press as an independent actor could create a revolution. But it is impossible to ignore the central place of newspapers in the timing of the igniting events in 1848 and 1917. Similarly important is the emblematic as well as substantive effect of the willingess of the governments installed by revolution to impose press censorship as a lever in the maintenance of the power they had won. The similarities and differences in the activities of French and Russian newspapers both before and after each revolution argues for their pivotal impact in the way subsequent events unfolded.

-- EPILOGUE --

Many other elements of social control and coercion became part of the consolidation of Communist Party rule in the U.S.S.R. But it is intriguing to consider that Party control of a vast nation was never effectively challenged -- until Gorbachev's glasnost became part of a program of change undertaken by the government. Khrushchev's "thaw" had allowed a tentative flowering of literature from the time of his attack on Stalinism at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956,[85] but conservatives had never approved. With their ascendancy after Khrushchev's ouster in 1964, published dissent was decisively crushed or driven underground. A shadow political arena had no opportunity to achieve its potential as a catalyst for broader forces for change.

Remembering earlier reversals, Soviet journalists embraced the policy of glasnost only tentatively when it was first proclaimed in 1985.[86] But the gradual build-up of a shadow political arena was underway as early as 1986 and Gorbachev ultimately lost control of

the forces he had unleashed. Although he had introduced glasnost primarily for instrumental political purposes, to mobilize support for his campaign of sweeping restructuring, Gorbachev stimulated in the media the growth of "ultimately unincorporable political expression generated by Soviet society's deeper unresolved cleavages."[7] In a further echo of the republican and Bolshevik journalist-politicians of 1848 and 1917, Soviet journalists ran for office and won in the first elections open to non-party candidates. News media primed in the shadow political arena that was nurtured by glasnost were ready to emerge as an important factor in political reform. As the Berlin Wall fell, economic and nationality tensions mounted, and the U.S.S.R. began its slow disintegration, the press acted out its inherent dual nature: initial intentions to foster support for perestroika broadened to include publication of potential alternative views, which in turn became a factor in undermining the legitimacy of the regime, the Communist Party itself, and any hope of social unity. It was Gorbachev's glasnost that enabled the media in a time of growing social tension to act as, in effect, a shadow political arena -- generating the catalytic energy that propelled the forces of change, and playing a critical role in the convergence of internal and external factors under which the Party, after 70 years, lost its hold.

ENDNOTES

1. The name of the city of St. Petersburg was "Russified" as Petrograd in 1914 as a patriotic move during the war, renamed Leningrad in 1924, and recently returned to its traditional name under de-Sovietization in 1991.

2. Albert Resis, "Lenin on Freedom of the Press," Russian Review 36:3 (July 1977): 284.

3. Mark W. Hopkins, "Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev: Three Concepts of the Press," Journalism Quarterly 42:5 (Autumn 1965): 528.

4. Graham Murdock and Peter Golding, "Capitalism, Communication and Class Relations," in Mass Communication and Society, edited by James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott (London: Open University Press, 1977): 15.

5. Irene Collins, ed., Government and Society in France, 1814-1848 (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, Ltd., 1970): 87.

6. Peter Kenez, "The Prosecution of Soviet History: A Critique of Richard Pipes' The Russian Revolution (New York: Knopf, 1990)" in The Russian Review 50 (1991): 349.

7. Jeremy D. Popkin, Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990): 4.

8. Peter Kenez, The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 5.

9. Roy Medvedev, Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism, translated by George Shriver (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989): 626.

10. V.I. Lenin, About the Press, collected writings edited by Union of Soviet Journalists and Union of German (GDR) Journalists (Prague: International Organisation of Journalists, 1972): 187.

11. Ibid: 188.

12. Priscilla Robertson, Revolutions of 1848: A Social History (New York: Harper and Row, 1952): 37.

13. Popkin: 106.

14. Collins: 98.

15. Robert Justin Goldstein, "Censorship of Caricature in France, 1815-1914," French History (Great Britain) 3:1 (1989): 78. See also Daniel L. Rader, The Journalists and the July Revolution in France: The Role of the Political Press in the Overthrow of the Bourbon Restoration, 1827-1830 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973).

16. Peter Amann, "Recent Writings on the Second French Republic," Journal of Modern History 34:4 (December 1962): 411, cites Charles Ledre, La presse à l'assaut de la monarchie, 1815-1848 (Paris, 1960).

17. Popkin: 114.

18. Ibid: 115.

19. Ibid: 182.

20. Peter Amann, "The Changing Outlines of 1848," American Historical Review 68:4 (1963): 943.

21. Maurice Agulhon, The Republican Experiment, 1848-1852, Cambridge History of Modern France, translated by Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973): 16.

22. John R. Ehrenberg, "Making the Turn: The Political Roots of Lenin's Theory of the Party Press," Studies in Soviet Thought 21:2 (May 1980): 124-25.

23. Lenin, About the Press: 91.

24. Ehrenberg: 136.

25. Hopkins: 527.

26. Maurice Cranston, "The French Revolution in the Minds of Men," Wilson Quarterly 13 (Summer 1989): 52.

27. Cranston: 52.

28. Agulhon: 6.

29. Alexis de Tocqueville, Recollections, translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (New York: MacMillan Company, 1896): 98.

30. Cranston: 46.

31. Alphonse de Lamartine, History of the French Revolution of 1848 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849): 2.

32. Agulhon: 14.

33. Boris I. Koval, "A Soviet view on the humanistic ethic of the French Revolution," International Social Science Journal 41 (February 1989): 76.

34. M. de Maupas, The Story of the Coup D'Etat, 2-volume memoir of "a former minister," translated with notes by Albert D. Vandam (London: J.S. Virtue and Co., 1884): 6.

35. V.I. Lenin, The Lenin Anthology, edited by Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1975): 109.

36. Kenez, "The Prosecution of Soviet History": 350.

37. Resis: 275.

38. Resis: 279.

39. John Reed, Ten Days That Shook the World, original 1919 text with foreword by V.I. Lenin (1926 edition), edited/notes by Bertram D. Wolfe (New York: Vintage Books, 1960): 74.

40. Resis: 284.

41. Leon Trotsky, The Russian Revolution: The Overthrow of Tzarism and the Triumph of the Soviets (New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1959, c. 1932): 343.

42. Tocqueville: 30.

43. Agulhon: 26, 32, 46.

44. Karl Marx, Class Struggles in France, 1848-1950; with an introduction by F. Engels (1895); reprint edited by C.P. Dutt (New York: International Publishers and Moscow: Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, 1980). The debate about the applicability of Marx's theories to the specific cycle of events of February-June has occupied a great deal of energy in seeking understanding of 1848. See especially Robertson and Collins, op. cit.; Mark Traugott, Armies of the Poor: Determinants of Working-Class Participation in the Parisian Insurrection of June 1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Mid-Century Crisis and the 1848 Revolutions," Theory and Society 12 (1983): 485-504; and several articles in Roger Price, ed., Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic (London, Croom Helm, 1975), especially Charles Tilly and Lynn H. Lees, "The People of June, 1848"; Christopher H. Johnson, "Economic Change and Artisan Discontent: The Tailors' History, 1800-1848"; and Bernard H. Moss, "Parisian Producers Associations (1830-1851): The Socialism of Skilled Workers."

45. Peter Amann, "Recent Writings": 411.

46. Robertson: 29.

47. Tocqueville: 83.

48. Ibid: 95.

49. John J. Baughman, "The French Banquet Campaign of 1847-48." Journal of Modern History, 31:1 (March 1959): 1-15.

50. Baughman: 1.

51. Roger Price, 1848 in France, Documents of Revolution series, Heinz Lubasz, ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975): 52, says that 50 banquets were held across the country; Collins: 165, cites 80 as the number.

52. Robertson: 27.

53. Tocqueville: 30.

54. George Fasel, "The Wrong Revolution: French Republicanism in 1848," French Historical Studies 8:4 (Fall 1974): 45.

55. Collins: 174.

56. Tocqueville: 31-32.

57. Saguiv A. Hadari, "Unintended Consequences in Periods of Transition: Tocqueville's Recollections Revisited," American Journal of Political Science 33 (February 1989): 140-41.

58. Robertson: 22.

59. Ibid: 29.

60. Ibid: 33. These were primarily medical and law students, but their association with a newspaper signalled their concurrent identities as political activists.

61. Fasel: 46.

62. Price, 1848 in France: 55, quoting one L.M. Caussidière.

63. Lamartine: 53.

64. On the final morning of Louis Philippe's reign, when his new ministry seemed as paralyzed as the old had been by the growing crowds who had taken their demands for reform to the streets, it was a newspaper publisher, Emile de Girardin of the conservative La Presse, "who rushed in apparently unannounced and dared to tell the King to get off his throne" (Robertson: 37). Whether due to his faith in the power of the press, or his view of the inevitability of final collapse, Girardin also had the audacity, as Lamartine describes it (p. 73), to hand the king "a copy of a proclamation he had written beforehand, and had already sent to the press," in which the abdication was announced.

65. The newspapers served many functions in the confusion of those days from the 21st to the 24th. The workers seemed to look to newspapers as friends, as a trusted source of information. For example, the short-lived new ministry appointed by Louis Phillipe on the morning of the 24th had orders printed and posted all over Paris stating that troops had orders not to fire, but this was not sufficient to reassure the crowds. Robertson reports (p.35) that, "The common people were afraid it was a trick, especially as no copy of this order had been sent to the official newspaper, the Moniteur." This emphasis on the masses looking to newspapers in the midst of turmoil recalls memorable scenes from John Reed's classic account of the ten days surrounding the Bolshevik Revolution: "On the streets the crowds thickened toward gloomy evening, pouring in slow voluble tides up and down the Nevsky, fighting for the newspapers" (p.49); and, "A man appeared with an armful of newspapers, and was immediately stormed by frantic people, offering a

rouble, five roubles, ten roubles, tearing at each other like animals" (p. 120).

66. Patricia O'Brien, "The Revolutionary Police of 1848," in Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic, Roger Price, ed. (London: Croom Helm, 1975): 134.

67. Roger Price, ed., Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic (London: Croom Helm, 1975): 13.

68. A majority of the provisional government was closely associated with Le National, sympathetic toward the poor but considering the socialists' focus on economic reform a "materialistic concern" (Price, Revolution: 10). They were moderate enough to be able to form tactical alliances with the liberal supporters of the monarchy. La Réforme was more radical, publishing the far-left socialist Louis Blanc and siding openly with socialist solutions, including a guaranteed right to work and the right of workers to organize (Agulhon: 17). But as its name proclaimed, the newspaper also advocated reform rather than revolution.

69. Hadari: 144.

70. Peter Amann, "The Paris Club Movement of 1848," Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic, Roger Price, ed. (London: Croom Helm, 1975): 116.

71. Goldstein: 70. He notes that one of the first official acts undertaken in the first two weeks of the Second Republic was abolition of the monarchy's censorship, including the repressive "September Laws" that Collins (p.99) explains were inspired by an assassination attempt against Louis Phillipe in September 1835. The "caution money" deposits required by the monarchy as bond against good behavior were ended, as was the stamp duty which had taxed the press, making newspapers cheaper to produce and buy.

72. Agulhon: 38-40.

73. Tilly and Lees claim 171 new newspapers appeared between February and June (p.179); Price in Revolution and Reaction states 300 (p. 18).

74. Robertson: 83.

75. Mark Traugott, "The Mobile Guard in the French Revolution of 1848," Theory and Society 9:4 (September 1980a): 687.

76. Traugott: 689.

77. Agulhon: 62.

78. Kenez, Birth of the Propaganda State: 15.

79. Resis: 285. He notes that the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet closed down as many as five newspapers a day through the end of November for "counter-revolutionary activities," such as publishing appeals to the public to resist Bolshevik rule.

80. Kenez, Birth of the Propaganda State: 49.

81. Resis: 294.

82. Mark W. Hopkins, Mass Media in the Soviet Union (New York: Pegasus, 1970): 66-68.

83. Kenez, Birth of the Propaganda State: 3.

84. Popkin: 5.

85. Robert V. Daniels, Is Russia Reformable? Change and Resistance from Stalin to Gorbachev (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1988): 67-68.

86. Owen V. Johnson, "The Press of Change: Mass Communications in Late Communist and Post-Communist Societies," in Adaptation and Transformation in Communist and Post-Communist Systems, Sabrina Petra Ramet and David S. Mason, eds. (Boulder: Westview Press, expected 1992).

87. Thomas Remington, "A Socialist Pluralism of Opinions: Glasnost and Policy-Making under Gorbachev," The Russian Review 48:3 (July 1989): 275.

Broken Bridges: Protestant Missionary Journalists as Cultural Brokers in Early 19th Century China

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". . . the missionary printers were influenced by their growing appreciation of the Chinese cultural tradition. Trying to fit into it in the role of scholars, the better to have influence in changing it, they found themselves working on a two-way street. They transmitted images of China to the West while also shaping Chinese views of the outside world. Their personal aim was to influence the Chinese religiously, but their historic function, as it turned out, was to transmit ideas and images in both directions. (Fairbank, 1985, p. 4)

Introduction

In the first half of the 19th Century, a slow but steady stream of individuals left their homelands to carry the message of Christianity to the masses of the Chinese Empire. By the middle of the century more than three hundred energetic, adventurous souls had made the nine month journey from Europe and America with the goal of evangelization (Wylie, 1867, p. v.). It is not unusual that they went, for missionaries had been going to China for centuries. What was significant was what they did once they arrived in China and the rationale behind it all. For these Protestant missionaries to 19th Century China established themselves as journalists, printers, and editors and thus exerted a significant impact on the times in which they lived as well as the development of modern Asian journalism (Lent, 1981, p. 57).

How did this come about? It is an interesting question to ponder why these people, extremely zealous in the cause of Christianity, would spend their time and resources on the writing and publishing of not just religious materials, but secular materials as well. What made them turn from the traditional means of evangelization (preaching, establishing churches, interpersonal contact) to the indirect, time-consuming practice of printing and periodical publication? That is the question which is the central theme of this study.

Such research explores what is generally considered to be virgin territory. For the most part, examination of the impact of missionaries in China has been played down or overlooked in the work of historians. This was probably because of the feeling that missionaries, blinded by their extreme devotion to their Christian mission would not produce usable information, but instead fill their documents with dogma and cant. Yet increasingly more scholars are looking to to the documents of missionaries as vital

resources, revealing China in ways no other materials allow.

Even those who did consider using these resources might have been put off by the very materials themselves. Missionaries to China kept detailed accounts for the societies that sent them and these files accumulated into a mountain of material. This mass of material requires a great deal of burrowing to find specific materials of interest. Another factor that might have caused scholars to shy aware from these materials is the need for precise interpretation, across not only time but cultures and sub-cultures. The thought of trying to get a clear perception of such a different culture as China in the last century is daunting enough without also attempting to decipher it through the mindset of extremely zealous missionaries to that land. (Fairbank, 1985, p. 3).

In considering the events of this crucial period, historians have tended to concentrate their attention on the merchants and the diplomats of the era. Yet as Fairbank (1985, p. 2) notes, of all the groups of individuals involved in relationships with China, "only the missionaries sought direct contact with the common people in the two civilizations." Thus, the missionaries had access to, and could lend insights about, a way of life not available in any other kind of record. Also, since they needed to sustain interest in their work back in their home countries (to maintain their financial base), they produced numerous reports of their work and sent them back to the West. The availability of these records makes research compelling.

Probably the most important push to study the missionary experience is in response to the increased desire to understand China in light of the renewed relationships between China and the West after the Nixon initiative in the 1970s. Fairbank (1971, p. 283) saw the need for a better understanding of China in this new era of openness and defined the need for the consideration of the context of this on-going relationship writing:

> ". . . our first need is for a genetic, historical grasp of past Chinese-American relations. What went on? What resulted? Get at the facts. The historians' second need is to understand the experience from both sides. The impact of American missions on Chinese life as a whole and also on American life has been much less studied, indeed neglected by both American and Chinese specialists."

Therefore,in order to proceed on a rational and productive basis with the current Chinese relationships, the lessons of the past must not be overlooked.

A!so the study of the missionary journalists and editors fits very well into the current debate on media imperialism. The missionaries to China and their work in printing present a unique historical example of the use of mass media to penetrate another culture.

The focus here is on the use of printed communication to do this, a medium of communication generally overlooked today in favor of the impact of broadcasting. Consideration of the situation from this perspective provides an opportunity to balance the consideration of media imperialism from a media perspective ass well as considering it from an historical perspective.

Thus, it is important to examine the missionaries to China and their efforts in printing and publishing. In an area too long ignored, there is much to be explored and learned. To begin to do so, several areas will be considered in this present study. First, the context in which the missionaries operated will be considered. To focus on the missionary experience without understanding the historic elements at play during this time period would be misleading. The context will be explored by looking at the Chinese Empire and its relationship towards foreigners. Also considered will be the trade movement and the emerging Chinese-Western (particularly British) political relationships that evolved during this period.

The second major consideration of this study will focus on the missionaries and their printing operations. By considering the missionaries themselves and the product they produced, some direction as to the reason behind the printing effort can more readily be ascertained. A look at the key individuals in the editing and printing of materials in China from 1807 to 1860 will be considered to gain a perspective of what was being done and who was doing it. The products produced by the missionaries will then be considered, breaking the examination into two main areas: material produced for a Chinese audience and material printed for an English-speaking audience. By making this distinction, a clearer perception of their motivations might be seen.

The question of why these materials were produced will be addressed. Also examined is whether the effort made by the missionary journalists was successful. Given the research in the first two sections, a synthesis of material will be made to ascertain what reason or reasons lay behind the printing of secular materials by the missionaries rather than focusing on their commission to evangelize the Chinese. Finally, the implications of these findings for international communication and the study of China will be considered. By so doing, some insights on the pioneer efforts of journalism in this part of Asia will be explored.

The Context

China

In order to fully understand the circumstances into which the missionaries to China willingly threw themselves, it is important to start with an examination of the state of China

at this time. Before the coming of the West, the Chinese people had established a rich culture, a vast empire, and a large population. It was estimated that there were 410 million people living in China in 1840. Not only did China have the largest population in the world at that time, but it also held the largest amount of territory which made it the biggest empire in the world. Though numerous dialects were spoken throughout the nation, every region was tied together in a national unit by a common written language. The political state was composed of 18 provinces which had high levels of self-identity and self-rule. (Chesneaux, 1976, p. 32).

Chinese society was composed of four distinct social strata. These were, from highest to lowest, scholars, peasants, artisans, and merchants. As well, there were those whose occupation pushed them outside the boundaries of social acceptability and these included actors, prostitutes, servants, and soldiers. It is important to note that while they did not fall into the despised category of society, merchants were at the lowest level of esteem of all the major social groups in China at this time. The merchant was beneath the farmer (peasant) because, unlike them, he did not make his living from the land, but instead lived off other people. (Dalton, 1975, p. 107).

China was, in its own collective mind, supreme. It considered itself the center of the world. Indeed, the name it called itself was the Middle Kingdom. This arose from its belief that the world was a square and heaven was a circle above it. China was at the intersection of heaven and earth. The rest of the world was on the fringes of the supreme state of China and was considered the "domain of foreign barbarians, demons, and sea monsters." (Chesneaux, p. 9). China's highly developed civilization far outranked all competitors it met from abroad in its centuries of existence. So, over the long term, a tradition of relying on trade from the various and distinctive parts of its own domain developed. China learned outside relationships were not needed and really not worthwhile. All China needed was China.

A revealing example of this can be found in China's brief effort at exploration. In the period from 1405-1433, the emperor sent out several grand naval expeditions. Under the leadership of Cheng Ho, a eunuch in the Emperor's court, an expedition was launched with aims and objectives vastly different than similar efforts of the West in the Age of Discovery. While Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese and English explorers set out hoping to "increase their country's wealth, to secure the staples and luxuries of the East, and to convert the heathen to Christianity" (Boorstin, 1983, p. 191), the Chinese had no such mission. Cheng Ho's mission was more an institution of the emperor, designed to "display the splendor of the new Ming Dynasty... to make the whole world voluntary admirers of the one and only center of civilization." (*Ibid.*, p. 192). Thus, when entering a new, un-

explored region, Cheng Ho's fleet did not demand tribute and did not use force to subdue the natives because these actions would indicate that China had need of these things. Instead then of taking from the newly discovered regions the Chinese would give the natives of these areas gifts of Chinese craftsmanship in order to inspire a sense of awe. They attempted to subdue others with their magnificence and grandeur rather than by force of arms.

The fact that these expeditions were to give, not to take is an important insight into the way of Chinese thinking at this time. It shows the sense of self-sufficiency they possessed. It demonstrates the contentment China had with what it already held. And it shows the extreme pride it held for itself and the total disdain for the condition of others. The only time China took something from others was when it was in the form of tribute. The thing taken was accepted only as a symbol that the giver recognized the fact that China was the only civilized state in the world. In receiving it, China demonstrated the generosity and abundance of the Central Kingdom in accepting tribute from inferior parties.

From this mindset, the Chinese concept of foreign relations developed. It ran head-on with the European concept of foreign relations which recognized a community of sovereign states. China was obstinate. It recognized only one sovereignty in the world: itself. All others were barbarians. And as barbarians, they had nothing to equal the splendor or dominance of the ruler whom the Chinese called the Son of Heaven. (Chesneaux, p. 9).

Chinese society at the time of the Western approaches in the 19th Century was facing many internal struggles. Secret political and religious societies had sprung up and were disrupting life throughout the country. Added to this was strife caused by dissident scholars and minority groups. Public services throughout the country were hampered by the practices of corrupt administrators. The spread of counterfeit money and a dwindling metals reserve wreaked havoc on the economy. The classic signs of the end of the mandate to rule (floods, famines, and foreigners) were evident. (Chesneaux, p. 45). The catastrophes which resulted stimulated vast migrations of the population who wandered the land adding to the chaos of the times

China was almost totally ignorant of those whom it called barbarians since relationships with the West had been remote for many, many years. China had made itself ignorant of the West by choice, rejecting the opportunity to explore the world centuries earlier with its vast fleet of ships. It chose for the reasons noted above, to focus inwards instead of outwards. As a result, when the Portuguese traders arrived at China's coast in the 1500s, China's knowledge of the West was scanty and for the most part, obsolete. (Barnett, 1971, p. 295). With the arrival of the British merchants two centuries later, the

situation was, surprisingly, even worse.

The relationship that China established with the traders from the West was predicated on its general philosophy of sovereignty. From this basis, generally speaking, China adopted a closed-door policy with the traders. This occurred for several reasons. China saw what foreign influences had done in Japan and India and wanted no parts of any such thing. Also, traditionally, China had a distrust of foreigners and traders. When the foreign merchants (who were considered the lowest of the low) arrived seeking trade agreements with the leaders of the country, their requests were rejected out-of-hand as not only ridiculous but as a serious affront to the proper social standards. The most important reason China said no to the traders, however, was probably because it had nothing to gain by so doing. (Chesneaux, pp. 52-3).

Part of the reason China shut itself off from the West may be due to defense reasons. Trade had existed with Russia since 1689 and so it seemed that the Chinese felt confident about the safety of its land borders. But there seemed to be a defensiveness about the border on the sea This is evident in a popular fictitious story from the period called *The Magic Carpet.* In this tale, set in the days of the Ming Dynasty, a ship filled with strange, red-haired barbarians arrived at a Chinese seaport seeking permission to trade. They were, of course, refused. Yet when the barbarians pleaded to be allowed to set foot only on the amount of space their carpet covered in order to dry some wet goods, the benevolence of the Kingdom of Heaven allowed them to do so. However, to the shock of the local people, the barbarians stretched their carpet until the space it covered was enough to land a large army which then took over the city. (Broomhall, 1924, p. 42) This shows the basic fear the Chinese had concerning the entry of foreigners from the sea. Unfortunately, China did not heed the moral of the story and, following the dictates of its proud benevolence, did open the door to their kingdom a crack in through which the flood of Western traders and politicians eventually flowed.

There was also a distinct difference between the way religion was practiced in the Celestial Kingdom as compared with the nations of the West. The Chinese seemed to consider religion an individual rather than a collective matter. Early missionaries found that there was no institutionalized equivalent of group worship as it was found in the West. Walter Medhurst, one of the earliest missionaries to the Chinese was discouraged by the fact that "Chinese devotional practices were largely individual in nature and that ancestor worship was centered in the home among one's own linage group" (Leonard, 1985, p. 52). Generally speaking, religions were usually well-tolerated by the Chinese who tended to assimilate them with little damage to their own particular culture. Christianity was different however. It was considered alien, and unfit for Chinese society . Morrison, the

first Protestant missionary to China in the 19th century, remarked that Christianity was sometimes called the European religion by the Chinese. Jesus Christ was called the Savior of the West, as well. (Broomhall, p. 152). This concept of Christianity being foreign was constantly reinforced in the Chinese mind by the close relationship the missionaries had with the other foreigners: the merchants and the politicians. Considered as such, it was not just another religion to be adapted, but part of a coordinated invasion by the West. One writer noted that Christianity was similar to the opium invasion only the Chinese seemed to fear Christianity more than the opium because it was an invasion of the mind, not the body. (Fairbank, 1985, pp. 3-6). This resistance and rejection of Christianity continued even after government restraints were lifted under the treaties of 1842 and 1860. Intellectuals denounced it, the Boxer Rebellion fought against it, and missionaries were massacred as a result.

Finally, in considering the condition of China at this time, it is important to look at its attitudes towards printing and written matter. China had a long history of the printed word. The development of printing by Pi Sheng came a long time before the operation was used in the West. (Emery, 1988, p. 2). Block printing remained the standard way of reproducing copies, however, even up until the time the first Protestant missionaries arrived. This is probably due to the fact that the Chinese language uses 30,000 different characters and this makes the use of movable type tedious and difficult to organize for use in printing.

While it is important to consider what China used in its printing operations, it is also important to consider the Chinese attitude towards printed materials as well. There is an indication that the written characters of the Chinese language were highly respected, especially by the intellectual community. An example of this can be seen in the extreme reaction of Morrison's Chinese tutor when the missionary casually burned an old exercise paper upon which the tutor had written some characters. So indignant was the man that he refused to talk to Morrison for three days. (Townsend, 1888, p. 31). Printing seemed to relate to magical or religious purposes as well. Precise replication of a holy image or text was considered to be for good luck or to promote longevity. (Boorstin, p. 498).

This respect for printed material was tainted somewhat by a monetary situation. The printing process was used at an early date in China to print currency. However, during the Yuan Dynasty, excessive printing of money produced a wild swing of inflation that was not curbed until the Ming Dynasty cut back the amount of money in circulation. For a long time then, printing as a whole "bore this guilty association with unsound currency." (*Ibid.*, p. 503). Despite this fact, however, the Chinese seemed to retain a deep abiding respect for writing from both an intellectual and an aesthetic perspective.

Newspapers were not new in China as a form of communication when the Protestant missionaries arrived. During the Tang Dynasty (618-906) bulletin-like news sheets relating information of the imperial court were circulated throughout the empire. (Britton, 1933, p. 1). These periodicals were published regularly with a circulation estimated in the tens of thousands. (Britton, 1933, p. 7-8). When something of significance occurred a special newspaper often appeared in the larger cities to chronicle its appearance. These newsprints were called *hsin-wen chih* (literally, "news paper") and sometimes featured colored pictorials. Generally speaking, "they were journalism restricted to stark essentials..." (Britton, 1933, p. 5).

Evidence exists that indicates over time the government newspapers and indeed all printed materials lost credibility in the minds of the people. An account of a correspondent of the London *Times* illustrates this. In conversing with Chinese officials stationed on a distant border, the correspondent noted that the Chinese did not believe the newspaper report of the capture of Peking. They remarked, "we know you said you went there, and we read with much amusement your gazettes giving your account of it all. They were very cleverly written and we daresay deceived your own subjects into a belief that you actually went to Peking. We often do the same thing." (Speer, 1898, p. 145). It seems that though the Chinese had a level of respect for printed materials, nonetheless they retained a level of incredulity towards the contents.

This was the state of China as the 19th century dawned. It was to this formerly unassailed, tradition-bound, bureaucratic empire that a small band of missionaries set their sights. It was a seemingly impossible goal, to open up the Celestial Kingdom for the purposes of evangelism. Yet in their vision to see China open they were not alone. In fact, another group of individuals looked covetously at the empire and had set its own agenda for the same objective. These individuals were the Western merchants.

Merchants

Until the year 1834, the only official and regular contact the Western world had with China was through a small group of Western traders in Canton. While diplomatic attempts had been made repeatedly "of the sort customary among the nations of Europe in their relations with each other... these attempts accomplished little" with respect to China. (Remer, 1967, p. 2). Even the relationship between the traders and the officials at Canton was tenuous. The Chinese philosophy towards the traders was that they were beasts and had to be governed by "misrule" since reason would " lead to nothing but confusion. " (Broomhall, p. 4).

The first European merchants to make it to China were the Portuguese who arrived in 1516. They set up a base of operations on an island about 75 miles south of the site of Macau and remained there until the local Chinese grew hostile and destroyed their encampment. They attempted trade bases at Foochow and Ningpo but were unable to establish themselves in either of these places. Finally they were permitted by the Chinese to rent Macau for one thousand taels a year. Over time this payment decreased and was finally abolished when the Portuguese government declared Macau part of Portugal in 1849. (Abend, 1944, p. 8). Eastern trade was dominated by Portugal and Spain in the 1500s. By the year 1600, the union of these strong powers in the trade business was almost a monopoly and as a result prices for spices, silks, and other commodities from the East escalated to incredible heights. (Wilbur, 1945, p. 317).

Yet this situation was to change at the end of the 16th century for two reasons. First, Spanish dominance of the seas had been broken by the British defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588. This permitted other European countries to enter the "spice race." Soon British and Dutch merchants were competing for trade in the waters of Asia. The second development was the formation in 1600 of the East India Company. This chartered company joined together to take concerted action against the growing dominance of the Dutch trading companies. The Dutch were a big trade threat to the British because they had by their aggressiveness established exclusive trading rights with Java, Surinam, and the Moloccas. As a result, they held complete control of the pepper market in Europe and doubled the prices in England. (Desai, 1984, p. 3).

It was concern over this development that brought 215 London merchants together to stem the rising economic influence of the Dutch. Elizabeth I made it official on December 31, 1600, creating with her signature The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies. The company was given a monopoly of 15 years for trade in all ports and countries in Asia, Africa, and America. (Reid, 1948, p. 20). King James later made the charter period indefinite, subject to revocation with three years notice. (Desomogyi, 1968, p. 20). In 1661, King Charles expanded the powers of the Company to the point where it had the rights of a sovereign state outside of England. (*Ibid.*, p. 170). This is a significant development to consider for England would not bequeath this great power without gaining from it. Nor would it permit this without keeping a close watch on it. The East India Company thus became very closely aligned with the English state. It is also important to consider this in light of the trade in China. Britain had given the East India Company sovereign rights. China considered merchants low on the social scale and foreigners even lower and thus held the East India Company in low regard. Therefore, the tension implicit in this situation seemed destined to drag the British government into the

trade and sovereignty battle.

While trade with China originally was open at all ports on a nominal basis, the Emperor Kang Hsi limited it in 1760 to the port of Canton (not counting the disputed territory of Macau and the overland trade with Russia). Merchants were permitted to reside in a specially designated area outside the city walls of Canton for a few months of the year. For the rest of the time, they were forced to find quarters in Macau. (Broomhall, p. 42). In Canton, the Chinese organized the trade operation in the hands of a local corporation called a *cohong*. This dominant Chinese company dealt with the dominant Western company, the East India Company. (Remer, p. 2).

The China trade grew slowly at first. One limiting factor in this regard was the slow establishment of working relationships with the local mandarins and the general hostility of the Chinese to the foreign trader. (Jeudwine, 1923, p. 353). Soon trade picked up dramatically. Commodities such as silk and porcelain were in great demand in Europe. However, it was tea that really exploded into the major trade commodity of the East India Company. Tea was introduced into Great Britain in the middle of the 18th century and despite its high price (6-10 pounds sterling per lb.), consumption grew dramatically to the point that "within one century, it supplanted coffee as the national beverage." (Desomogyi p. 174). Indeed, by the 1820s, British consumption of tea was 30 million pounds per year. (Graham, 1978, p. 6).

The increasing demand for Chinese products in the West, particularly tea, had two major effects. The first was to cause the levels of frustration in the merchants to escalate. They had a demand for goods in Europe, the wealth of China to supply those goods and yet they were blocked by the Chinese government from doing so. The merchants were also being pressured by the increasing demands emanating from the effects of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. This was to urge them to make more persistent attempts at expanded trade in China (Chang, 1964, p. 13). The frustration forced some to take matters into their own hands. One such case described by Broomhall (p. 4) occurred in 1754 when a Mr. Flint, a merchant with the East India Company, took matters into his own hands and sailed north to Tientsin. At this port he was able to find a local official who agreed to carry his petition for expanded trade to the Emperor in Peking. The result of the enterprise was that the official was beheaded, and Mr. Flint was thrown into a prison for two years. The East India Company tread very lightly in their official relations with China thereafter lest they lose the small privilege of trading they had been offered. (Barnett, p. 288).

The other major implication of the growing demand for goods from China was a problem with balance of trade. As mentioned before, China did not need to trade with the West, but rather considered it a benevolence to barbarians (Dalton, 1975, p. 107). In this

regard China did not reciprocate by taking British goods to balance the trade. The reason: they were quite satisfied with what they had, as evident in this example of the feelings towards their domestic goods:

> "China has the best food in the world: rice; the best drink: tea, and the best clothing: cotton, silk, and fur. Possessing these staples and their immeasurable native adjuncts, they do not need to buy a penny's worth elsewhere." (Remer, p. 17).

The merchants continued to take the tea in trade and had to pay for it in the only thing of value from the West that China appreciated: silver. In 1817, China received about 150 million pounds of silver from Europe.

This situation changed when the East India Company discovered that there was indeed something the Chinese would trade for their tea other than silver and that was opium. The Company's ships had previously traveled from India to China with empty holds. With the discovery of the market for opium, this leg of the journey was to become very profitable carrying the drug for sale in the Empire. Chinese authorities had tried tn stop the flow of opium since 1729 and took strong action in 1797 when it was formally banned by the Emperor (Gardner, 1972, pp. 91-92). The East India Company nonetheless continued to transport the drug into China in large quantities despite the edict.

Opium effectively reversed the balance of trade between England and China. In 1839, trade records indicate 100 million taels of silver were spent by China on opium. (Chesneaux, p. 55). Despite the fact that the drug was ruining the standard of living, destroying the operation of businesses and public services, the Western merchants continued to maintain the smuggling of opium into China. This business, "the import of opium to China and the export of tea from it became the largest part of the Company's trade... " (Graham, p. 92).

With the turn of the century, events started changing things rapidly for the China merchants. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe turned interest back to trade again, especially the China trade. Increased overall activity was matched by increased smuggling operations in the opium trade. A dramatic increase in the trade of opium occurred in the period 1820-1835.

A major change in the operations of the China trade resulted in 1834 when the East India Company's charter was not renewed. The company had gotten too large and un-wieldy in its operations due to massive over-expansion. (Wilbur, p. ix.) With the East India Company's loss of charter, the China trade entered into a new era. The power and control of the trading process was now open to the free traders. The *cohong* system came

to an end (which was not regretted by the Western traders who felt the system was demeaning). The old system of relationships with China died with the charter. A new, more official relationship was to replace it. This relationship was not to be based on trade, but rather on official British diplomatic efforts.

Diplomats

Before looking at the diplomatic system that replaced the East India Company's influence in the China trade, it is important to take a look at the history of British and Chinese diplomatic ties. Actually, it is the history of British attempts at diplomacy because the Chinese never recognized the British ambassadors nor received them officially. The first mission sent by England to China was dispatched in 1787 under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cathcart. His responsibility was to extend the good will of the British to the Chinese and negotiate for the ceding of an island to Britain to use as a port "where Englishmen might live, carry on business, and be subject to their own English laws." (Wilbur, p. 329). Cathcart never made it to China. He died en route and was not replaced for six years.

In 1793, the British once again sent an ambassador to the Chinese. Recognizing the need to impress the Chinese emperor and show him Britain too was an empire of splendor and riches, Lord Macartney was sent off with a retinue of ninety-five members and gifts that were valued at 13,000 pounds sterling (*Ibid.*, p. 329). Emperor Chien Lung refused to meet with the British mission when it arrived in August, 1793, and in reply to the request for increased trade relations he sent the following message:

> "There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own products. But as tea, silk, and porcelain, which the Celestial Empire produces are necessities to the European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted as a signal mark of favor, that foreign hongs established at Canton so that your wants may be supplied and your country thus participate in our benevolence." (Kuo, 1970, p. 2).

The Emperor told them in his own way that they had the port of Canton as a special privilege and that he was really giving them a great deal. That no more ports were to be opened was the real message.

So, by the time the East India Company's charter ended, the British government had established no formal ties with China. The demise of the Company's influence

however, gave the British government the perfect opportunity to make the trade relationship evolve into a political relationship. In 1834, three superintendents of British trade were sent "in pursuance of the new British policy of maintaining in China diplomatic officers whose duties were the support of British interests and the conduct of official intercourse with the Chinese." (Remer, p. 4). Thus the stage was set for the two nations to come head-to-head.

What happened as a result was the only outcome that could be expected: conflict. Two very proud nations were seeking to maintain sovereignty. Each had failed to recognize the sovereignty of the other. England resented not being recognized as an equal by China despite the fact it had established itself as a major world power in the eyes of other nations. China resented the fact that the English barbarians were not only breaking the law of the Emperor, but by so doing, creating havoc in the society of the Kingdom of Heaven with the continued distribution of opium. When Britain sent the diplomats to take the place of the traders, the powder keg was ignited.

The Conflict

In 1834, the British Commissioner for Trade, Lord Napier, argued for diplomatic recognition with Chinese officials in Canton. Receiving no satisfaction, he attempted to go over the heads of the local officials and make his point to the people. He printed his story in the Chinese press and an uproar immediately resulted over the fact that the barbarians had learned the Chinese language. An imperial edict was issued to prosecute those who had aided the foreigners with the language or in the printing of the evil and obscene books. (Tracy, 1840, p. 246). The edict scattered the Chinese workers who had been in the employ of the missionaries and a large quantity of metal types in Chinese were confiscated by the Chinese authorities and melted down. (*Ibid.*, p. 247). The following year another edict banned all Christian printing and called for all Western books to be turned in to the authorities within a six month period. (Medhurst, 1838, p. 243). With the coming of the special commissioners, the situation with the Chinese seemed to get more tense with each passing year.

Matters came to a climax as Lord Napier's mission failed and as the opium trade expanded. In 1838, a special commissioner was appointed by the Chinese emperor to get rid of the opium trade. Imperial Commissioner Lin was sent to Canton and given carte blanche to end the opium trade at whatever cost. (Tracy, p. 310). Lin confiscated 10-12 million dollars worth of the drug and destroyed it. This represented more than 20,000 chests of opium brought from India by the merchants. (Jeudwine, p. 359). Further, he declared that if any more of the opium was introduced all foreigners living in Canton would

be killed. As a result, all Westerners then living in Canton immediately withdrew to Macau. (Tracy, p. 310). Tension escalated and finally armed conflict broke out.

The British with their superior naval power and technology quickly won the Opium war. Speer (pp. 149-50) evaluated the war in this manner:

> "It was extraordinary in its origin, as growing chiefly out of a commercial misunderstanding; remarkable in its course, being waged between strength and weakness, conscious superiority and ignorant pride; melancholy in its end as forcing the weaker to pay for the opium within its borders against all its laws, thus paralyzing the little moral power its feeble government could exert to protect its subjects...it was the turning point in the national life of the Chinese race."

When considering the cause of the war, each side had very different reasons for waging it. The Chinese saw it as an effort to get rid of the loathsome opium trade. The British on the other hand saw it as a war to secure recognition of equality from the Chinese empire. As a result of the war, for the first time in its collective memory, the Chinese people found they had been conquered by the outer barbarians. It was, to most minds, unthinkable.

The Opium War ended with the Treaty of Nanking which was to become the first of a long list of concessionary treaties China would sign with foreign powers of the West over the next few decades. The Treaty of Nanking, signed August 29, 1842, made no mention whatsoever of the subject of opium. It did however:

1. Cede Hong Kong to Great Britain in perpetuity,
2. Open five ports in China to trade (Canton, Foochow, Ningpo, Amoy & Shanghai),
3. Set a $21 million indemnity to be paid by China to Great Britain,
4. Abolish the *cohong* system,
5. Establish a uniform tariff system, and
6. Establish recognition by China that Britain was its equal.

(Graham, p. 225n).

Despite attaining all the things they wanted in the Treaty of Nanking, it seems the British weren't through with China yet. When the Chinese chaffed under the new relationship thrust on them by the barbarians, opportunities for further conflict gave way to further defeats by the Chinese and ultimately more concessions. The Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 resulted from the British defeat of the Chinese after an altercation over the sovereignty of a Chinese fishing junk. As part of this treaty, ten additional trading ports were opened,

foreign travel was permitted in China under a passport, and freedom of movement in all of China was guaranteed for both Protestant and Catholic missionaries. (Hsu, 1975, p. 266). In October, 1860, the Treaty of Peking was signed giving further concessions after the British were again successful in a conflict with the Chinese over the detention of British representative Harry Parks. The Treaty of Peking gave the British the right to have diplomatic representatives stationed in the Chinese capital, and ceded the peninsula across from Hong Kong Island to the British. Missionaries, as a result of this treaty were given the right to own property in China.

As a result of the treaties of 1858 and 1860, conditions in China changed dramatically. One of the most significant changes was in the diffusion of the Chinese government's sovereignty over its own citizens. As a result of the treaties, "Christians, both alien and Chinese, were given the privilege of propagating Christianity and both were guaranteed tolerance in the practice of their faith." (Latourette, 1964b, p. 282). This in effect created two classes of citizens in the empire, because Chinese Christians were removed from the jurisdiction of their country's system of justice by asserting at any time that they were victims of religious persecution. Those fleeing persecution of any sort could profess conversion to get help from the missionaries in their cause. (*Ibid.*, p. 283).

Another impact of the treaties was a great influx of foreigners into China. The treaty ports were at once occupied by English-speaking peoples: merchants, who had longed for the opportunities of an open China for trade, and of course the missionaries who for so long had prepared for first-hand opportunities in China for evangelism. The missionaries started at once to shift their operations from the various places in Southeast Asia to cities within the empire itself. (Stewart, 1926, p. 93). Hong Kong, as safe British territory, became the headquarters in the Far East for the missionary societies, and their educational as well as organizational units as well. (Latourette, 1967, pp. 244-6) .

The struggle between England, the preeminent power of the new world, and China, the dominant power of the old world came to a climax in the middle of the 19th century. Fairbank (1962, p. 163) notes that this was destined to happen as "Western expansion clashed head-on with China's traditional order." Opium was the inciting factor in a situation ripe for conflict. The political struggle of the nations and the economic struggle of the traders was enough to bring the situation to a critical point. Intimately involved in all of this were the missionaries. These individuals were a significant force in the opening of China and for all interests and purposes became meshed with all the other actors in this historic drama.

The Missionaries and their Journalistic Products

Missionaries

It was within this economic and political context that the Protestant missionaries attempted to evangelize China. Their efforts were deeply affected by the circumstances in which they operated and yet they in turn also exerted influence and had a substantial role in affecting the course of history.

Missionaries were not new to China. China had seen missionaries from many faiths journey to its borders. Hinduism and Buddhism had sent missionaries to the Chinese people, for example. Even Christianity was not novel in this regard. Records indicate that Nestorian Christians arrived in China during the Tang period (618-907 A.D.). Catholic missionaries had worked in China more than five hundred years before the arrival of Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary of the modern era. They had been very successful in their work partly, it was believed, because instead of making the Chinese Western, they adapted themselves and their message to the Chinese. (Hsu, p. 137). Mateo Ricci was probably the most successful in this regard. After his death, the Catholic missionary effort in China lost influence and finally came to be held in disregard. In 1710, Christianity was banned as it perceived to be similar to the religious secret societies that had developed and threatened China at this time. (Hughs, 1937, p. 60). Even though officially banned, Catholics continued to work discreetly in China. So when the missionary movement in China once again revived, the Catholics were able to pick up from where they left off.

The Protestant missionaries had no such footholds from whence to begin. They had to commence from scratch in learning the culture, the language, and all the difficulties involved in cross-cultural communication. Other differences existed between the Protestants and the Catholics, differences that made a significant impact on their efforts to evangelize. The Catholics, for example, sought to convert from the top downward, while the Protestants were interested in the common people. The Jesuits had been linked with the scholars of China while the Protestant missionaries were linked with the merchants of the West. Finally, the means they used in their efforts were quite different. The Catholics had used interpersonal communication: polite, intelligent conversation. The evangelization effort of the Protestants was mostly via printed materials. So while the Catholics had been culturally-sensitive, the Protestants seemed to lack this quality and it seriously affected their effectiveness.

The Protestant missionaries to China were limited by four main restrictive forces. One of these restrictions was the state-like power of the East India Company. This can be

seen in the case of Robert Morrison who, even before he left his native England, was affected by the regulations of the Company. Only ships sanctioned by the company or owned by it could travel directly from England to China. The Company, mindful of the instability of its relationship with China, refused to put itself in jeopardy by transporting Morrison to Canton in one of their ships. As a result, he had to go to New York where he was able to secure transportation on an American trading vessel. (Barnett, p. 288).

On his arrival in Canton, Morrison became even more aware of the tangled web of constraints of the Company under which he was subject. People from the West could only remain in Canton if they had some connection with the trading going on there. Thus Morrison found himself in the precarious position of not being able to stay in his chosen field of ministry shortly after he stepped off the ship in Canton. Fortunately, certain individuals in the Canton office of the East India Company extended to him extreme kindness. Especially helpful was George Staunton, one of the very few merchants there who had bothered to learn the language. Through Staunton's influence Morrison was offered the job of translator/interpreter with the Company, a position Morrison gratefully accepted to secure his place in the Canton community (as well as learn the language for his future missionary efforts).

A second restraint was from the restrictions of the Chinese empire and its ban on Christianity within its borders. The Chinese government prohibited printing in the Chinese language, (Medhurst, p. 235) and distributing books to the Chinese people. The English language publications of the missionaries generally went unhampered because the Chinese cared little whether the barbarians corrupted themselves, but they were not permitted to "poison the minds of the natives with their depraved productions. " (*Ibid.*). Edicts prosecuting Chinese assisting foreigners with the language dispersed the helpers of the missionaries numerous times (Williams, 1888, pp. 75-6). Especially vulnerable tn this were the Chinese woodblock carvers who constructed the printing blocks for the missionaries before the use of movable type began in earnest. The frustrating restrictions of the Chinese government forced the Protestant missionaries to eventually find a place to work outside the sphere of Chinese government influence and as a result, bases of operations were established in tolerant governments throughout Southeast Asia.

Since residency in Canton was limited to the trading season, in the off-season, the merchants would remove themselves to Macau. This presented a third restrictive force on the Protestant missionaries. Macau was disputed territory. At this point in time, the Portuguese leased the territory but it still remained the domain of China. Morrison made mention of this fact of ultimate Chinese sovereignty when arguing against Macanese restrictions on his printing press. (Broomhall, pp. 178-9). Yet while China owned the land

and controlled its own citizens in it, it left the governing of the foreigners to the Portuguese. Thus, Westerners in Macau were relatively free, unrestricted by the local Chinese official, though still under the authority of the local Portuguese establishment.

It was under this local Portuguese colonial authority that Protestant missionaries often came into conflict. William Milne, who came to join Morrison in Macau was forced to leave after 18 days. (Latourette, 1967, p. 223). It was thought that the Catholics did not want to see the number of Protestants increase in their domain. Another incident which shows the Catholic conflict with the Protestants in Macau is found in the incident over Morrison's newspaper *The Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica*. Four issues of this newspaper were published in 1833 before the Catholic Church, which resented the authority they thought it stole from them, pressured to have it stopped. (Lent, 1981, p. 61). On another occasion, American missionaries were told discretely but forcibly that "no more tracts should be distributed or public congregations held." (Latourette, p. 223). The influence of the Catholic hierarchy in Macau was not such that it seriously bound the hands of the Protestant missionaries, but it did require cautious behavior and added more restrictions to the already tightly-bound missionaries.

If there was a fourth restricting force for the Protestant missionaries, it was from the societies which sent them out as missionaries. On the whole these agencies exerted a minor influence on the lives of the missionaries. Most of the influence was indirect and not immediately obvious. The missionary societies were formed to carefully select candidates for the job of missionary and acted as the support service for them once they were commissioned. The first society which developed was the English Missionary Society (1792). This was soon followed by the London Missionary Society in 1795, the Church Missionary Society in 1799, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 and in the U.S., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. (Cohen, 1978, p 547).

Morrison was given relatively free rein by the London Missionary Society. In his letter of instructions he was given permission "to act on every occasion according to the dictates of your own prudence and discretion. " (Broomhall, p. 34.). This was the only logical course of action the Society could take given that Morrison was walking into a situation unknown to the Board. However, there seems to be an underlying, unspoken caution, that Morrison as the pioneer should do nothing which would jeopardize future efforts of the Society. The Society also indirectly restricted the missionaries by its control of the selection process of those it commissioned to serve in China. Since the missionaries were a team, organizational decisions would be made by the group as a whole. The Society's choices of candidates for service created a local governing body which formed

the boundaries in which each missionary performed a role (see Broomhall; and Townsend for descriptions of the selection process).

With all these constraints, it was a wonder that Morrison as the first Protestant missionary to China did not turn right around and return to England. However, he did not even seem to consider this. Instead he took a course of action which worked within the restrictions. By so doing, he set important precedents which others after him followed closely. During the years before the opening of China, Morrison and the other pioneer missionaries "concentrated primarily on language study, translation, printing, and later on the distribution of religious tracts among the Chinese." (Malcolm, p. 165). This adaptation to circumstances was justified by Morrison when he wrote:

> "It is in the minds of some modern Christians that a pulpit, and pews, and a church or a chapel, are essential to preaching...It is my opinion, that conveying the proclamation of Divine mercy to the human mind, by any means, whether by schools, colleges, the press, or the pulpit, is virtually 'proclaiming' the Gospel, and obeying the Divine Precept." (quoted in Broomhall, p. 183).

For the special situation of China with all its restrictions, traditional preaching methods were impossible. The emphasis was on information diffusion by indirect means due to restrictions on interpersonal contact.

It is interesting to conjecture that the means of diffusing information via printed materials might well have been used even if direct contact with the people of China had been permitted. Faced with the lack of personnel (Morrison was alone for six years before someone else joined the mission to China, and Knowlton [1872, p. 218] notes that even after 35 years there were only 58 missionaries working with the Chinese), and the vast numbers of the Chinese, the mass mediated message from the printing press probably would have been the reasonable choice for evangelization purposes. Printing had to be used because in any case, the number and efforts of the missionaries were too insignificant in contrast to the size of the massive population of China.

It can be seen then, that a heavy emphasis was placed on education by the missionaries. First they educated themselves in the language and the culture of the Chinese people. Then they attempted to educate the local people about Christianity and the society and knowledge of the West. In addition, the West was educated about the old culture of China. This educational process of the missionaries took place in three settings. Cautious work was done in Canton and Macau. Literature was carried on trade ships which flaunted the Chinese prohibitions and traded at ports along the China coast. Work was also

conducted in the ports and districts outside China. These locations, under the authority of tolerant governments had large populations of Chinese people. They included Malacca, Penang, Singapore, Riouw, Batavia, Burma, and Borneo. While these bases of operation were established in these areas for the evangelization of the local people, they were, for the most part, temporary training grounds preparing for the day when China would open. (Latourette, 1967, pp. 222-227).

The spreading of knowledge, both religious and secular, was a very important obligation the pioneer missionaries took upon themselves. Other than the printing of tracts, periodicals, newspapers and books (which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section) another manifestation of this was in the formation of a group of people dedicated to the goal of spreading information. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China was such a group. This organization of British and American members joined together in 1830 first as a "Christian union" and ultimately developed into the Society . (Phillips, 1969, p. 176). The purpose of the Society was to spread Western knowledge to the Chinese in an effort to "open China by peaceful means to trade, Western civilization, and consequently Protestant Christianity." (Drake, 1985, p. 94). It was in form, modeled after a similar institution in London.

The Society was closely linked to the printing work of the missionaries. An example of this can be seen in its provision of the financial support for Gutzlaff's magazine to the Chinese (Britton, 1933, pp. 24-5), as well as a magazine directed at the West. (Phillips, p. 176). The Society also supported Bridgman's Chinese-language book on the history of the United States. (Barnett, p. 296). Interestingly, this organization, supported mostly by missionaries (with some assistance from merchants), attempted "to avoid religion and politics in its publications in order to be offensive to no one. . ." (Drake, p. 95). This is a very clear example of the organized action the missionaries took to enlighten both East and West about each other.

Another example of efforts to encourage East-West enlightenment in the activities of the pioneer missionaries was in the founding of educational institutions. One of Morrison's first objectives was the formation of an Anglo-Chinese College. This was accomplished with the laborious efforts of William Milne in Malacca in 1818. The purpose of the school was to allow Chinese and Western cultures to meet and learn from each other. Morrison's goal was to educate the young minds of each culture in an environment of contact in order to enhance the education of both and link the two distinctly diverse groups into a closer relationship. While the beginning phase was discouraging due to a lack of trust for the new institution, Milne's tireless efforts stimulated an encouraging growth.

The opening of China influenced the perceived need of missionary responsibilities

and duties. With direct access to the Chinese possible, more emphasis was placed on the traditional means of evangelization. So while education was the main priority before 1842, traditional evangelization techniques became the main task afterwards. For example, in the case of the Anglo-Chinese school there is a notable shift after the opening of China from emphasizing cultural exchange through education to stressing the need for evangelists, and preachers in order to employ the traditional way of reaching people. As a result, the school was ultimately converted into a theological institution.

Another indication of the move from cross-cultural education to more interpersonal contact with individuals was in the growing importance placed on medical missions. Fairbank (1962, p. 169) notes that from the 1830s onwards, "British and American Protestant missionaries found their modern medicine carried more weight in China than the scriptures." Evidence exists, however, that indicates that even this service ministry was looked down upon by Missionary Society personnel who believed that the "true" work of a missionary was the traditional preaching and interpersonal contact method. Gulick (1973) gives a vivid example of this in an exchange he notes occurred between Dr. Peter Parker, the first medical missionary from the U.S. to China, and Rufus Anderson, a member of the mission board committee. Anderson thought Parker's time in his clinic was wasted when he could be doing effective street preaching and starting churches (Anderson also thought Bridgman's work on the *Chinese Repository* was a waste of time and urged him to give it up in 1845). Despite Anderson's remarks, medical missions continued to expand dramatically in China. (Latourette, 1967, p. 270).

Yet, of all the tools used to diffuse knowledge, both eastward and westward, probably the most used and most important was the printing press. The job of writing, editing, and printing became one of, if not the most dominant activities which occupied the pioneer missionaries to China. Indeed, as one author has noted, producing a Chinese publication was a badge of initiation for newly arrived missionaries. (Fairbank, 1985, p. 13). The member of the early missionary community who did not contribute in some fashion to publications (especially the *Chinese Repository*) was the exception not the rule. (Wylie presents a comprehensive listing of all the publications produced in the early days of the mission to China by the missionaries.)

While almost every missionary contributed in some small way to the diffusion of knowledge, there were those exceptional individuals whose contributions to the development of printing and periodicals was much more extensive and significant. These individuals can be categorized into three types: the editor/journalists; the printers; and the type development people. These categories tend to merge as many of the printers also added as much to the development of writing and journalism as they did to the development

of the printing process in China. But the categorization is made to allow a clearer focus on the abilities and skills these people bought to the diffusion of information.

The precedent of publishing came from Robert Morrison. It probably stems from both the availability he had to the printing operation of the East India Company and his frustration over his restricted and lonely vigil as a missionary. Despite the difficult task of learning the Chinese language, translating the Bible, and helping to found the Anglo-Chinese school in Malacca, Morrison engaged in a tremendous amount of journalistic activities. In the course of his life he attempted to publish a newspaper, and contributed a tremendous amount of articles to the *Chinese Repository* and commercial newspapers. (Lent, 1981, p. 61).

Those who came immediately after Morrison followed in this journalistic tradition. William Milne, the second Protestant missionary to this area of the world, also had significant record in publishing. Milne, in addition to his duties at the Anglo-Chinese school in Malacca, is credited with publishing the first magazine published in the Chinese language (Wylie, pp.19-20). Another major contributor to missionary publications was Karl Gutzlaff, a Prussian sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society. Gutzlaff not only produced the first Chinese-language magazine published in China, but he was the first contributor to the *Chinese Repository* and wrote many tracts which he actively distributed on daring forays deep into forbidden Chinese territory. (Tracy, p. 157). Elijah Bridgman edited the *Chinese Repository* for almost all of its twenty year run. Of him, Drake (1985) notes "within two years of his arrival in Canton, Bridgman began to see his primary role as that of an intermediary between Chinese and Western civilizations." It was to this end that he used his publishing operation. Indeed, this seemed to be the goal of most of the major writer/journalists of this time period. They were individuals who, Lin (1936, p. 78) remarks, "devoted their energy to writing more than preaching sermons."

Another major group of missionaries who exerted a great deal of influence on the diffusion of information from a different perspective were the missionary printers. These individuals came to their place in missions not as products of theology schools, but from practical printing job experiences. All of these individuals were chosen to serve in China on the basis of their abilities to operate and manage printing equipment. Yet while they were commissioned due to their printing expertise, many of these individuals went on to write extensively for the periodicals and newspapers they printed. A prime example of this can be seen in the case of Walter Medhurst. Medhurst had been a printer in England and applied for a position he saw advertised by the London Missionary Society for someone to run the presses in Malacca. (Wylie, p. 25). He had barely arrived in Malacca when due to the ill health of Milne, the entire press responsibility was thrust on his shoulders. (Leonard, p.

49). Medhurst not only excelled in his designated printing duties, but went on to become one of the major founders of periodicals in the Asian region.

Another significant missionary printer was Samuel Wells Williams who arrived in 1833 and immediately took charge of the presses in Canton. (Tracy, p. 234). Williams had learned the printing trade from his father in the United States and had eventually started a successful printing business with Asahel Seward, his partner (Williams, p. 3). After graduating from Rensselaer Institute he took his father's suggestion to take charge of the press operation in China. (*Ibid.*, p. 39). He not only ran the entire printing operation but acted as co-editor with Bridgman of the *Chinese Repository.* In addition, he authored a book about China called *The Middle Kingdom*, and produced a commercial guide for traders as well as an almanac.

Many other printers were commissioned to the China field. Some of these included George Huttman, Alexander Wylie, Ira Tracy, and Richard Cole. (Wylie, pp. 44, 64, 79, 135). Each of these individuals tended to concentrate mostly on the operation of the press. They brought their skills and expertise to China and used them to produce a flood of printed materials to conduct the linkage of the two great cultures of which they were a part. Their impact in the short run was great. In the long run, however, it was not as significant. This is because they did not diffuse their printing skills to their Chinese co-workers. Instead kept their training to themselves and managed every aspect of the operation they could without passing on their know-how to the Chinese workers. So rather than create a tradition and heritage of local printers, they merely did in China what they had done in their native lands. Barnett (p. 298) feels that had more attention been given to sharing technology instead of just the content of the Christian message, the Chinese might have been more receptive to the overall message.

Protestant missionaries were noteworthy as well for their attempts to develop the flow of information to China through the development of a clear and efficient Chinese movable type for use in printing. Samuel Dyer devoted a great deal of his time to perfecting a system of Chinese metal type at the Malacca mission. In his work he went through many stages (Ismail, p. 160) until he finally perfected a model that was renowned for its simple grace and beauty. (Wylie, p. 52) Dyer was responsible for establishing Malacca as a place where mission presses could obtain type. (Peck, p. 590). Walter Lowrie's contribution was limited due to his untimely death at the hands of Chinese pirates. In his short term of service he studied the language and assisted in the organization of the 30,000 different pieces of movable Chinese type into an efficient system for typesetters to use. He was also temporarily given charge of the Presbyterian press in Macau until the arrival of Richard Cole (Barnett, p. 291). Both these individuals aimed at making the Chinese press as

effective in the diffusion of information as the presses in the West. Their efforts show the extent of missionary commitment in insuring the two-way traffic on the intercultural bridge they were attempting to build.

The press operations that were ultimately established by all these individuals was significant. The beginnings however were modest. Robert Morrison started out using the press of the East India Company. He was able to convince them to give him the press after the dictionary he translated for them had been published on it. (*Ibid.*, p. 289). Missionaries continued to acquire presses for those areas in Asia in which they were permitted to work. From these presses poured tracts, periodicals, journals, Bibles, textbooks, hymn books, and much more. Ever growing and developing, Morrison's small press operation makes for a stark contrast with the mammoth Presbyterian Press that operated out of Shanghai after the Treaty of 1842 was signed. Without the means to churn out the printed materials, the effort to link East and West would have been fruitless. It was having the technological means for a mass media that gave rise to the opportunity to try to establish linkage between China and the West.

Publications-Westward

One of the first products that came forth from the press established at the missionary base at Malacca was a periodical called *The Indo-Chinese Gleaner*. This magazine was edited by William Milne and ran from 1817 to Milne's death in 1822. It contained literature, history, philosophy, and mythology of Asian societies, as well as general and religious news. (Wylie, pp. 20-21). *The Gleaner's* purpose was to "serve both as a common organ for the spreading Ultra-Ganges mission and as a critical journal of sinology." (Britton, p. 26). A similar publication called the *Indo-Chinese Repository* was planned in 1827 but never came to fruition. (Malcolm, p. 166).

In 1832, a significant publication was founded which sought to fill the gap left by the loss of the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*. This publication was the *Chinese Repository*. The *Repository* was a monthly English-language publication designed to spread a clearer and fuller picture of Asia to the West. Edited by Elijah Bridgman, its stated purpose was to bring readers information about China "showing more accurately and minutely what the Chinese government and people are in every respect...especially at the present time when the nations of Christendom are beginning to think on their relations with this empire." (*Chinese Repository,* Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 160) In content the *Repository* covered natural history, commerce, society, literature, education and religion. What it did not do was challenge the authority of the Bible because the editors did not expect "to find among all the almost numberless tomes of the Celestial Empire, data of such value and authority as shall

enable the wise man of the age to correct the chronology, or improve the morality of the Holy Writ." (*Chinese Repository,* Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3). So, while providing information on the Chinese civilization, the missionaries were careful to keep their material consistent with the tenets of their faith. By so doing it seems they were attempting to establish common ground from which the West could appreciate China and eliminate any walls which might block this acceptance from the West's side.

The *Repository* grew increasingly popular during the first years of its existence. Production figures steadily increased from the initial four hundred copies to one thousand copies by the fifth issue (a large number of these, however, appear to be extra copies to provide back issues or to complete sets since the circulation figure was relatively stable at about 515). One third of the readers were located in China, about one fifth were in the U.S. and the rest were scattered all over Asia and Europe. (*Chinese Repository*, Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 160).

A New York merchant named David Olyphant offered to back the periodical financially for its first year. This was not necessary, however, because the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge agreed to underwrite its costs. (Williams, p. 77-78). With its financial position in steady shape, the *Repository* set out to establish itself as **the** authoritative journal on China. It sent out a call for articles and invited criticism from its readers. (*Chinese Repository*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 5).

After 20 years of publication, the *Chinese Repository* ceased publication. Circulation figures had dipped to a point so low that the periodical had lost 300-400 dollars each year for the last seven years of its publication. (Williams, p. 178). The magazine had become particularly arduous work. Bridgman had gone to Shanghai with the opening of China to start a mission station there, leaving S. Wells Williams the sole editor. Not only had circulation dropped, but article contributions were down as well so that for one issue the editor had to fill the magazine with all of his own material. Interest in reading about China seemed to decline once people had the opportunity to enter China and know it firsthand. This seemed especially true for the traders. (*Ibid.*, p. 172). Eventually the burden of production outweighed the editors' ability to sustain the magazine at a level worthy of its reputation. In 1851, the last issue was printed.

In its lifetime, the *Chinese Repository* provided its readers with a "gold mine of information on Chinese civilization and current affairs..." (Drake, p. 94). From 1832 to 1851 it was the "main outlet for serious Western scholarship on China." (Cohen, p. 548). It is one of the best examples of the use of the press to link the people of the West to the strange culture of the Chinese. Williams (pp. 67-68) noted this in a letter to his father in which he said:

"The *Repository* is the most arduous work, but whether the most profitable or not remains to be seen. If its effect on the Christian world is adequate to the importance of our subject, our labor is not for trifles. The enlightenment of those who are patrons of this great work is not a vain object..."

The goal of this publication was to educate the West, to enlighten the readers and raise their appreciation of the Chinese culture.

Several other English papers by the missionaries had this same educational goal. Morrison's *The Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica* was a religious newspaper but it also contained news and items about China and the surrounding countries. (Wylie, p. 9) Williams printed a publication called *The Commercial Guide* "to furnish foreign merchants with useful information respecting trade and navigation under recent treaties." He produced an Anglo-Chinese Calendar as well which contained information and a summary of events that had transpired during the previous year. (Williams, p. 125, 168). Medhurst printed an English-language newspaper in Shanghai in 1949. It contained information on government, philosophy, religion, trade, manufacturing, customs, history and statistics. All of these publications sought to explain China to the Western reader.

The missionary press was used to publish books which deeply influenced the West's idea of China. Particularly influential was *China Opened* by Karl Gutzlaff. This book, published four years before China was officially opened by treaty, created a false impression of the ease by which one might enter China. Yet it also showed China from the eyes of an energetic, frenetic individual who had travelled in parts of China where no other non-Chinese had ever been. His enthusiasm, and his confidence inspired thousands of readers of this book with an unique and somewhat incredible picture of the Middle Kingdom. (Wylie, p. 65). Another influential book, from a far more scholarly perspective was *The Middle Kingdom* by S. Wells Williams. This book was published in the period between the Treaty of Nanking and the Treaty of Peking. During this time much attention was drawn to China and people were eager to know more about the empire. Williams' book became a classic because it filled the international public's need to know with informative, accurate information at a time when it was most sought after. As a result, the book "exercised a significant influence on American attitudes towards China for the rest of the century." (Drake, p. 94).

Besides producing their own secular publications, the pioneer missionaries to China were also frequent contributors to the commercial press. Morrison, for example, was deeply involved with the *Canton Register*. James Matheson, the founder of this newspaper came to Morrison soon after it was initiated and earnestly solicited his help. Morrison

agreed to do so on the condition that he would be given the freedom to express what he considered to be important. (Broomhall, pp. 174-175). Matheson granted this request and Morrison became a regular contributor to the newspaper until his death. (Britton, p. 27) In addition to his own magazine, Karl Gutzlaff also produced a wealth of articles for secular publication which included "a history of England, a treatise on international commerce, and a general history of the world." (Barnett, p. 296).

Publications-Eastwards

The mission press also produced a number of significant secular publications aimed at a Chinese audience in order to inform it about Western civilization. The first periodical printed in Chinese to appear on a regular basis (not counting The *Peking Gazette* or other official government publications) was Milne's *Chinese Monthly Magazine.* Printed in Malacca from 1815-1821, it did contain some religious material, but also a great deal of information about the Western world, such as western ideas about astronomy, and British society. (Wylie, pp. 19-20). Originally it was solely a religious publication, but gradually, over time "knowledge and science were called to the aid of religion; and instructive anecdotes, with occasioned notices of political events gave a pleasing variety to the work." (Medhurst, p. 249). Milne had high expectations for the magazine reaching a circulation of 2,000 people per issue. (Milne, p. 54). When the magazine ceased publication at his death, it had run for six and a half years and had a monthly run of 2,000 copies (as Milne had predicted), with an average of 14 pages per issue. Britton (p. 20) noted that at least 23,860 reprints of earlier issues had been made as well. This very popular magazine was very effective in reaching a significant audience each month with not just a religious message, but with lessons on Western civilization as well.

Probably the most active missionary involved in periodical production for the Chinese was Walter Medhurst. Lin Yutang (1936, pp. 83-84) credits him with some involvement every time a Chinese magazine was initiated. First he attempted to continue the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* after Milne's death. Upon his move to Batavia, Medhurst started *A Monthly Record of Important Selections* which was published from 1823-26. This magazine was more educational in content and conversational in style than Milne's earlier work. Over the three year period in which it ran, 83,000 copies of the periodical were printed. (Britton, p. 22). Medhurst's hand can also be seen in other periodicals: *The News of All Nations,* the *Universal Gazette*, and the *Hua Urh Kwan Chin* magazine. (Lin, pp. 83-84). Again, instruction about the West was implicit in all these works.

Karl Gutzlaff published the first monthly magazine in Chinese on Chinese soil. His

Eastern Western Monthly Magazine appeared from 1833 to 1837 and contained religious, political, scientific, and commercial materials. (Lutz, p. 66) Gutzlaff wrote most of the copy himself and produced what one observer called "a periodical apologia for Western civilization." (Britton, p. 22). Gutzlaff's publication became very popular and 300 copies were added to the original run of 60 copies. There was no religious material included in the magazine. (*Ibid.*, p. 25). Gutzlaff's purpose was to present Western civilization to the Chinese in "an attempt to convince China of the validity of Western experience," (Drake, p. 96) an effort not unlike that which the diplomats from Britain attempted as well. His influence is assumed to have far-reaching effects because, due to his special relationship with the Chinese government, he was permitted to circulate the magazine unrestrained by the forces which bound all the other Western periodicals. (Britton, p. 22).

Others also brought information of the West to China. Richard Way published *Illustrated Geography* in 1848. His work was used by Chinese geographer Wei Yuan in his revisions of world geography (Barnett, p. 297). An almanac with information on Western geography, astronomy and technology was printed yearly by Dr. Divie McCartee in Ningpo. Elijah Bridgman wrote a two volume account of the United States called *A Short History of the USA* which was extremely popular among the Chinese. Published in 1838, it was known throughout China because it had been blatantly plagiarized in two books by Chinese authors. (Drake, p. 101). The Chinese equivalent of Williams' *The Middle Kingdom*, Bridgman's book was extremely influential in creating a Chinese conception of the Western world.

The Rationale

Why did the pioneer missionaries to China spend so much of their time and effort printing secular materials for Chinese and English-language audiences? What did they hope to accomplish by doing this? The answer is not a simple one because, as been indicated in the context section of this study, the situation involved here is very complex with relationships and motivations very difficult to sort out. Cohen (p. 544) notes this when he remarks " the missionary enterprise was thus exceedingly complex that to think of it in the singular can only serve to obscure its true nature." Nevertheless, It is important to consider the possible reasons for why the missionaries were motivated to act this way.

An obvious rationale in this regard is one that is extremely apparent in the context of their missionary operations. The missionaries were forced to use the press as it was the only means available to them to reach the people of China. Since they were under so many constraints, printing and publishing written materials was the only way open for them to do something for the people they came half-way around the world to help. Another limitation

noted in the context of this study is the constraint of manpower. Even given complete access to the people of China, the few hardy missionaries could not hope to reach a significant proportion of people interpersonally during their careers in the most populated country in the world. The missionaries might have been daunted by the sheer numbers of their audience and tried to solve this problem by using the shotgun effect of communication from the printing press. So, what started out as a means to work within the restrictions they found themselves under, evolved to include the transmission of cultural information as well.

An historical reason might well explain this situation. Some researchers have put forward the idea that the missionaries were well aware of the success of Mateo Ricci in gaining the trust and respect of the Chinese by bringing them knowledge from the West. The press could have been the means for modern missionaries to prove themselves in the same way. (Tracy, p. 200).

The printing effort might have been used to create the context of a familiar civilization to the Western people trapped far from home. The idea is one put forward by Frantz Fanon (1965) when he noted that wherever colonists go, they tend to take part of their home with them through a form of mass communication. There is ample evidence to support this idea since, for example, many missionaries were involved in commercial printing organs, and the circulation of the *Chinese Repository* was highest in China among the traders stationed in the factories. Morrison also gave indication that he had a great desire to have contact with the news of his homeland (Broomhall, p. 102) and this was the driving force behind many of the local periodicals such as the *Chinese Repository*.

Faith in the efficacy of the medium might have given rise to its use. Morrison, seemingly a person submissive to the power of the state over him, became highly agitated and vehement when fighting for his press. He used the press as his chief weapon because "in its power he had unbounded faith." (Broomhall, p. 178). Historically during this time period the development of printing technology was revolutionizing the societies of many of the Western countries by bringing information to the masses. (See Emery and Emery for their account of the impact of the Penny Press in the U.S., for example.) Perhaps the missionaries may have seen the liberating effect that press had the potential to impart and thus attempt to use it in the context of China.

All of these reasons for why the missionaries used the press so extensively have merit. Yet there is one overwhelming weakness that is common to each of these rationales. All of them are based on the on the concept of information flowing one way. Indeed, it is only natural to think this way for when a missionary goes abroad he carries a message to the people to whom he is sent, and not to the people who have sent him. Yet in this

particular case, information is flowing two ways, from West to East and from East to West. And the conduit is the missionary. By concentrating on one of these flows to the exclusion of the other, the picture of the missionary's role and the objective for using the press is obscured.

On the basis of the evidence discussed in this study, an alternate rationale is suggested. This is not to invalidate the other explanations noted above, but rather to provide a framework from which to see the whole picture, a picture in which each of those explanations are but a part. The alternative perspective suggested here is based in the unique opportunity these missionaries had to bring together two seemingly irreconcilable cultures. The key to understanding why they thought they could reconcile the irreconcilable is based in the primary reason for why they were sent there in the first place--their religion. The Protestant missionaries held a deep unshakable belief that one God ruled all mankind. British, Americans, and Chinese were all included.

What happens then was that with direct experience, the missionaries saw that the scales of intercourse between the two cultures were so unbalanced that on one hand, the Chinese could not take the message of the Gospel from the West because it couldn't relate to it culturally, and on the other hand, the West could not extend the brotherhood of nations to an empire it did not comprehend. (Cheng, p. 9 and Speer, p. 146) To resolve this the missionaries set out to balance those scales by acting as the intermediaries between the two cultures. In effect, they become the bridges (or the "cultural brokers" as Twitchett [p. 278] calls them), linking the cultures together enough to form a common ground upon which the communication process could begin to grow. Without this link through which flowed basic referents about each other, a field of reference could not be established.

This is clearly indicated in all the different actions the missionaries took. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge's role was to send information about the West to the Chinese and (through its support of the *Chinese Repository*) also sent information of China to the West. The educational effort by Morrison and Milne also reflect this. The Anglo-Chinese school was made to merge the two cultures in the educational setting. Finally, and probably most significantly, was the use of the press as a tool in this process, sending mass messages to educate both cultures about each other.

When pondering the differences in the cultures and the misunderstandings that resulted, it seems that these misconceptions arose because communication problems between the two cultures. The missionaries saw the means to solve this problem in themselves. They became the solution by conveying the ideas between the two cultures and the printed media were one of the chief tools to do so.

The indications that this is the framework which ties together all the other

explanations are apparent throughout the literature on this topic. Perhaps most strongly and obviously (from a Western point-of-view) is the indication evident in the goals of the *Chinese Repository.* Here the editors noted:

> "Surely the time must come, soon we hope, when the condition of this empire and the character and wants of its inhabitants being much more accurately known than they are now, the nations of Christendom banded together to keep the peace of the world, each preferring each other in honor, and all acting in regard to all on the golden rule--will rise in that true simplicity and dignity which ought to characterize the children of the King of Kings and strive together to elevate the Chinese to a high rank in the great family circle of enlightened and friendly nations." (*Chinese Repository,* Vol 5, No. 4, p. 160).

The missionaries spanned two cultures. They were "the interface between two great civilizations." (Fairbank, 1971, p. 284). From their unique position, from that place entrusted into their hands, was the potential for good for all mankind if they allowed themselves to interpret the two sides to each other. Through their self-sacrifice they saw two great objectives being achieved: the westernization of China would lead to its people's salvation through the acceptance of Christianity; and the "sinicization" of the West would lead to brotherhood of nations and world peace. In attempting to claim these goals, the missionaries gladly became cultural bridges.

Broken Bridges

Given their dedication to these goals, why didn't it work? Why did the missionaries fail as cultural bridges between the orient and the Occident? The answer seems to be that their bridging efforts collapsed on both of the cultural sides they tried to span. On the Chinese side there were several problems that were never overcome which led to rejection of the missionaries as the cultural link. For one thing the Protestant missionaries had a severe image problem with the Chinese. In the Chinese mind they were linked with the traders whom they held in low esteem. Morrison as a translator of the East India Company (Townsend, p. 53) set a precedent for close ties with the merchants which ultimately doomed the missionaries' efforts with the Chinese. Trade ships brought the missionaries to China (Phillips, p. 171), and missionaries accompanied the traders, sometimes giving out printed materials from the same boats which were transporting opium!

The image problem was also due to the close associations the missionaries had with the politicians and diplomats who, with the traders, were seen as invaders of China.

Because they knew the language, missionaries always accompanied the diplomatic missions. Thus, in the eyes of the Chinese, the two were hard to distinguish from each other. (Broomhall, pp. 91-92). And the missionaries used the diplomatic opportunities to achieve their own agenda, placing in the treaties, for example, protection for missionaries and their converts (Dennis, p. 390).

Another reason for failure with the Chinese was because the very act of bridging the two cultures was one in which compromise was needed. Compromise was diametrically opposed to all the ideas China had historically held about itself. To reconcile with Britain, China would have to agree to equal sovereignty. This could not be done without crushing centuries of tradition and philosophy. By trying to modify China to accept the West, the missionaries posed "a revolutionary challenge to the traditional culture...for this reason, more than any other so many Chinese felt threatened." (Cohen, pp. 543-544). The Chinese by nature of their long-established culture lacked the flexibility to change enough to permit bridges to be built between themselves and others.

On the side of the West, there were not many objections initially as the West was actively reaching out to China. In this regard, the bridging work of the missionaries was supported and encouraged by a western public hungry for information about China. Especially needy were the local merchants who, even being so close in physical terms, were oceans apart from understanding the thinking and actions of their potential markets. It might be argued that the missionaries were used by both the merchants and the diplomats as a strategic asset in the effort to open China to the outside world. In this the missionaries were willing participants as they shared the same ultimate goal, though for different reasons. Nonetheless, because of their command of the language and their understanding of the ways of the Chinese, they were vital resources in the effort to break open the Middle Kingdom for trade and political recognition. The bridge from the Western side was a fragile one which ultimately collapsed when the objective of opening of China was reached. For when direct access was possible the need for a go-between, even an intelligent, fluent one, became less needed and wanted to the independent, freewheeling spirits of Western civilization.

All was not for naught however. The missionaries set in place a framework in their use of the media that was influential in the latter part of the century in setting in motion dramatic changes in China when it was ready to start looking outside itself. Young J. Allen, for example, was able to build on the work of these earlier missionaries in his creation of the *Globe* magazine and exerted considerable influence on a more open Chinese society. So while the missionaries didn't build the bridges they hoped, they did set in place the beginnings of foundations on either side for others to build on in the future.

Implications

Much can be learned from the efforts of the missionary journalists of early 19th century China that is relevant to the study of international communication today. Specifically, three basic concepts stand out as important lessons to be learned from this historical evidence. First, this historical situation provides many insights that help us understand current criticisms regarding international flows of information. It might be argued that many of the problems and challenges current in international communication were born in this era when exploration and trade began to bring different peoples into contact with each other. Misunderstandings, injustices, and failed efforts in this initial period of contact have led to increasingly antagonistic relations between different national and political groups. This has been especially apparent in our century when, after the Second World War, those nations who had been the losers in the power struggles of the 18th and 19th centuries reasserted themselves and attempted to "stand up" to the leading powers of the world. It is vital, therefore, to consider how this situation began and from what source this antagonism has its basis in order to appreciate the complexity and different perspectives of the current state of affairs. It is also important to learn from this situation so that present policies and relationships do not fall victim to the same cross-cultural traps as earlier attempts.

Second, in a more theoretical vein, this examination of the efforts of the missionary journalists helps target the specific problems with using mass communication in lieu of interpersonal means of communication when establishing transnational/ trans-cultural relationships. We see the beginnings of the threat perceived in the use of mass communication that reached intense proportions in the call for a New World International Communication Order. This exploration of the missionaries and their failed attempt in the early part of the 19th century is especially important in contrast to the earlier successes of Catholic missionaries who used interpersonal communication to establish a foothold for their efforts in China. While this is by no means not an indictment against mass communication in international communication efforts, it does seem to reinforce the commonsense notion that cultural/social awareness as to appropriate communication channels is vital for any international communication effort to be successful. In the case of the situation involved in this present study, China was unable to relate to the printing revolution that focused on the masses. The printing revolution that was working in Western societies was out of sync with the conditions that existed in China at this time. In order to fit in with what China could accept, efforts should have been made to establish the information transmitted as something that was applicable to the context of China without

threatening it. This did not happen, with the results that have been discussed in this paper.

Finally, this examination of the meeting of the Chinese with the West in the early 1800s provides valuable insights into current diplomatic relations. China's sensitivity to the flows of information from the West in recent times in this regard is extremely apparent in campaigns against spiritual pollution that enters in the door opened for economic reform. More specifically, this historical case study of the missionary journalists helps explain to some extent why China fears the dangers of what it calls "peaceful evolution" through the subtle influences of international (and especially mass) communication flows. Peaceful evolution is the term used by China to designate non-aggressive means to subvert and subdue the national and cultural sovereignty of a country. As is evident in this research, the Protestant missionaries freely admitted that this indeed was part of their goal. They planned to transform China so that it could relate to and accept Western civilization and they sought to do so through the transmission of secular information about West. In this way they attempted to establish a situation in which China could join the brotherhood of nations. To be fair, the missionaries also sought to transform the West to better accept China as well. But by no means did this transformation require the West to make such radical changes in perspective as China was expected to make.

In looking at China today, this is important to consider. China walks a thin line between fear of lack of modernization and fear of external domination. Now especially with the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, China feels isolated. It sees itself as the prime target for the efforts of the West to subvert its system. In this regard, mass communication is seen as a significant tool of subversion. Indirectly and directly, the flows of information from the West counteract the consistent and planned message prepared by the Chinese Communist Party. The flow of information from the outer barbarians is thus still a threat to the well-being of the Middle Kingdom. If China and the nations dealing with it are ever to overcome this threat then the efforts of the past to build communication bridges must not be ignored.

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THE TREASONOUS IRISH: VIGILANTES, CONSPIRACIES AND THE MAINSTREAM PRESS, 1917-1918

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Presented to the History Division of the AEJMC
at the August 1992 convention in Montreal, Canada

The Treasonous Irish: Vigilantes, Conspiracies and the Mainstream Press, 1917-1918

Introduction

During World War I, editions of at least five Irish-American newspapers were barred from the mails by the United States Post Office. Two newspapers and one magazine were forced to suspend publication permanently.[1] A number of books and pamphlets written by Irish authors or dealing with Irish issues were also withheld from the mails. These actions were ostensibly taken for reasons of national security under authority of the Espionage Act.

This paper suggests that a public mood of vigilantism bordering on hysteria contributed to the suppression of the Irish-American press as well as numerous radical and foreign-language papers. It also concludes that many mainstream newspapers inflamed public sentiment against Irish-Americans through rumor, innuendo and unsubstantiated reports of German-Irish plots. Content analysis of a sample of mainstream daily newspapers during the period reveals that many papers--most notably the New York Times--equated support for the anti-colonial movement in Ireland with treason to the United States. Such coverage served to endorse and perhaps encourage the anonymous censors who monitored Irish-American newspapers for the U.S. Post Office.

Vigilantism and Spy Hysteria

In early 1917, as the United States moved inexorably towards war with Germany, scores of local and regional vigilante organizations stirred into action from Hawaii to Maine. Often sanctioned though seldom supervised by government agencies, groups like the Guardians of Liberty, the Anti-Yellow Dog League, the Knights of Liberty, the Boy Spies of America, the Sedition Slammers and the American Protective League, to name but a few, scoured the nation for signs of sedition and sabotage.[2] Draft dodgers and "spies" were the initial targets, but socialists, labor radicals and the foreign-born were soon swept into the web of the self-proclaimed protectors of the American way.[3]

The American Protective League (APL) quickly rose above the pack to become the largest corps of sleuths in the nation's history--a kind of citizen's auxiliary to the Department of Justice. The APL soon established units in cities with large foreign-born populations. By the time Congress declared war in April, the APL had 100 branches. Within a month, nearly 1,000,000 citizens had applied for membership in the APL. By November, 1917, the APL had 1200 branches with upwards of 260,000 undercover agents in cities, towns and hamlets across America.[4]

Vigilante groups such as the APL reserved a special rancor for the foreign-born. The chief APL inspector in Minnesota, for example, urged that foreigners be kept from "colonizing" large

cities. He suggested that municipalities emulate villages that had banished foreigners and remained "American."[5]

The Justice Department made several half-hearted attempts to restrict the APL to purely war-related activities.[6] But internal dissension at the federal level and public support for "excesses in the name of patriotism" overwhelmed efforts at restraint.[7] The Justice Department was forced to compete with state defense councils, other federal departments and a myriad of vigilante organizations.[8] In the public consciousness, spies and saboteurs were abroad in the land and the foreign-born were prime suspects. War fever had resurrected and unleashed a virulent form of nativism.

The vigilante groups which monitored Irish-American activities often wielded considerable influence. In 1917, for example, the American Defense Society (A.D.S.)--an organization founded by Teddy Roosevelt--disrupted street meetings in Boston and New York City organized by Irish-Americans in support of the anti-colonial struggle in Ireland. ADS agitation forced the New York City Board of Magistrates to outlaw such public meetings for the duration of the war.[9]

Vigilantism and the Mainstream Press

The press did little to temper the rising tide of public paranoia. Instead of serving as voices of reason and restraint, newspapers across the nation fed upon and often inflamed the rising mood of vigilantism and spy hysteria. The New York Times Index for

1917 and 1918, for example, contains page after page of reports devoted to sedition, spies and conspiracies. Yet not a single spy was convicted after mid-1917.[10]

Press coverage of the lynching of Frank Little in August, 1917, was emblematic of the press' willingness to excuse if not sanction mob violence. Little, an anti-war agitator and organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, was castrated and hung from a railroad trestle outside Butte, Montana, by local vigilantes. A Literary Digest survey of newspaper accounts reported widespread editorial support for the lynching as a means of combating disloyalty.[11] The Boston Transcript observed:

> . . . millions of people who, while sternly reprehending such proceedings as the lynching of members of that antipatriotic society, will nevertheless be glad, in their hearts, that Montana did it in the case of Little.[12]

The Chicago Tribune stated: "The howls of Industrial Workers of the World over the lynching of Little will find no echo in any reasonable heart."[13] Literary Digest noted that although many newspapers condemned the hanging, others were willing to forgive the lynchers' "excess patriotism." Some papers in effect blamed the victim for the crime by attributing the lynching to the government's unwillingness to suppress dissent.[14]

The press continued to rail against sedition throughout the remainder of 1917. Teddy Roosevelt's "unhung traitors" were widely denounced in press accounts. Editors condemned the "quasi-sedition" of certain German-American and Irish-American newspapers.

Rumor and innuendo fed the hysteria. Former Secretary of State Elihu Root, upon his return from a trip to Russia, was widely

quoted as saying that there were men walking the streets of America ". . .who ought to be taken out at sunrise and shot for treason."[15] In a speech before 8,000 in San Francisco, former ambassador to Britain, James W. Gerard, made this observation concerning the loyalty of Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette:

> I do not agree with what my friend Teddy Roosevelt says about [LaFollette] . . . that if he lived in Germany he would be sent to digging a trench. My friend Teddy is wrong. If this gentleman lived in Germany he would not be digging a trench. He would be filling one.[16]

One rumor proved so tenacious that the White House was forced to issue a statement denying reports that Joseph Tumulty, President Wilson's personal secretary, had been arrested and sent to Fort Leavenworth for being a German spy.[17]

The New York Times, commenting just after the new year on the lack of executions, called for stronger laws to allow summary execution of "unpunished spies."[18] A few weeks later the Times observed that ". . .a few prompt hangings" would "silence all individuals and organizations that raise their voices against the war."[19]

The anti-sedition hysteria intensified in the spring of 1918. Complaints of disloyalty flooded into state councils of defense. Mobs of vigilantes prowled the countryside burning books, splashing yellow paint on the homes of those suspected of disloyalty and forcing the foreign-born to kiss the flag.[20] Scores of men and women were tarred and feathered in Colorado, Michigan, Oklahoma and Missouri.[21]

The press continued to fuel the flames of intolerance and

violence. At the end of February the Literary Digest reported:

> The extremely low mortality among German spies in America is considered very encouraging, by our observant editors, to their continued activity. No other country in the world, it is maintained, is so healthful and salubrious for persons of an occupation which in some lands is thought a bit hazardous or risky.[22]

The Digest's weekly survey of opinion noted that editors continued to call for executions. The Syracuse Herald suggested that various stone and brick walls stood idle and available for use in the early morning hours, presumably for firing squads. The New York Evening Post observed:

> A dead spy or two might act as a deterrent. An interned or incarcerated spy is a joke, and more than one is a national calamity.[23]

The call for retribution was soon answered. Within days, a mob lynched a German-American coal miner in Collinsville, Illinois. Frederick Praeger, a socialist accused of treason for refusing to purchase a Liberty Bond, was dragged from his jail cell, forced to kiss the American flag, and strung up in an incident that garnered national attention. While most newspapers condemned the lynching, they united--as they did following Little's murder--in blaming Congress for failing to pass stronger laws against disloyalty.[24]

There were no similar demands for stronger laws to punish those responsible for mob violence.[25] The press, in fact, became a willing ally to factions within the executive branch of the federal government who used Praeger's murder to implement stronger anti-disloyalty legislation.[26] Two days after the lynching, the New York World quoted Postmaster General Burleson:

If Congress will not pass the necessary laws, then the

> American people will take matters into their own hands . . . . .I am not at all surprised at the fate which befell Praeger.[27]

It would be wrong to conclude that all mainstream newspapers fanned the hysteria with equal vigor. Following the Praeger murder, for example, the New York World attempted to refute some of the wildest rumors of sedition and sabotage.[28] The San Francisco Examiner, for its part, gave prominent coverage to the activities of a local vigilante group, the Knights of Liberty, and of efforts to curtail them.[29] What is certain, however, is that the mainstream press contributed to a national mood of suspicion that also reverberated through press coverage of Irish-American involvement in the independence struggle in Ireland.

The Irish and the Mainstream Press

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Irish nationalists had looked to America for support in their struggle against Great Britain. Irish America remained in many ways a nation in exile, ever willing to demonstrate its antipathy towards all things Anglo-Saxon.[30] In 1910, Irish immigrants and their American-born offspring outnumbered the population of Ireland.[31] The children of the Irish Diaspora remained a powerful force in Irish politics, a fact acknowledged by British leaders.

The issue of Home Rule dominated Irish affairs in the years before and during World War One. In 1911 the Irish Parliamentary Party, which held the balance of power between Liberal and

Conservative M.P.'s, succeeded in getting a Home Rule bill passed in Parliament. The bill permitted a limited form of self-government for Ireland within the United Kingdom. But before Home rule could be implemented in 1914, it was suspended until the end of the war.[32]

The United Irish League of America (U.I.L.) provided massive financial support to the Home Rule effort. The U.I.L. funded election campaigns and provided money for living expenses to the Irish Parliamentary Party until salaries were introduced for all M.P.'s in 1911.[33] But when the Irish Parliamentary Party declared its support for British Empire after war broke out, Irish-America was outraged. The once powerful U.I.L. quickly withered in influence in the United States.[34]

The summary execution of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Dublin further enraged Irish-America and alienated the vast majority of Irish-Americans from the moderate Home Rule movement.[35] The U.I.L. became a moribund organization; Home Rule, a dead issue. Those who advocated complete Irish independence--the Friends of Irish Freedom (F.O.I.F.) and the Irish Progressive League (I.P.L.) soon dominated Irish-American opinion.[36]

Prior to America's entry into the war, most Irish-Americans favored Germany over Great Britain or remained neutral.[37] Once America declared war, however, the overwhelming majority of Irish-Americans and Irish-American editors declared their loyalty to America. That many if not most Irish-Americans continued to support Irish independence even as they proclaimed their devotion to the United States was a fact not easily digested by the mainstream

press.

Talk about liberty and self-determination as U.S. wartime objectives emboldened Irish-American lobbyists to seek to include Ireland in the discussion. Petition drives and rallies, which had begun before America's entry into the war, continued throughout 1917 and 1918 in an attempt to make Irish freedom an American goal in the war.

Agitation in New York City peaked in August 1917 as thousands of F.O.I.F. sympathizers gathered almost nightly along Broadway to proclaim their support for Irish independence. The street rallies soon captured the attention of the American Defense League (A.D.S.) which demanded that such rallies be outlawed in New York and other cities.[38]

The New York Times and the New York World joined in condemning the street demonstrations. The Times charged that German money financed the rallies and that the anti-British sentiments of the F.O.I.F. amounted to treason to the United States.[39] The New York World accused both the F.O.I.F. and unnamed Irish-American newspapers of treason:

> These organizations and newspapers are frankly disloyal to the United States. They preach sedition. They oppose the war policies of the Government. . . . They are morally, if not legally, guilty of treason. We have no doubt that much of this propaganda has been bought in the open market with German money.

The World, however, did not see suppression as a solution. It advocated counter-demonstrations instead: "It is as easy for patriots as for traitors to organize public meetings."[40] Hearst's

New York American, the sole pro-Irish voice among the large New York dailies, ignored the controversy over street rallies. While the Times and the World were busy condemning Irish street demonstrators as traitors, the American was championing the New York 69th Regiment--the "Fighting Irish"--as models of loyalty.[41]

The Board of City Magistrates soon passed legislation banning street demonstrations and Mayor Mitchell ordered the police to act. On August 30, a force of 100 policemen supported by members of the A.D.S. broke up a gathering of 10,000 in what the Times described as". . .one of the wildest scenes that Broadway ever witnessed." Among those arrested, the Times noted, was Margaret Curley, the niece of the mayor of Boston.[42]

The New York Times was contemptuous of all talk of Irish independence. It labelled those who advocated the same--whether in Ireland or America--as Sinn Feiners and repeatedly dismissed the 1916 Easter Rebellion as "Sinn Fein riots."[43] For the Times, Ireland was and would always remain an inseparable part of the British Empire. To suggest otherwise was tantamount to treason:

> It is preposterous for Sinn Feiners to talk about a separate and wholly independent government. . . .only the wildest radicals think they want absolute independence.[44]
>
> A glance at the map is enough to show that Great Britain can never consent, unless she becomes impotent and ruined, to an independent Ireland.[45]

Although less vociferously anglophilic, the Chicago Tribune echoed those sentiments. The Tribune supported a limited form of self government for Ireland, but it dismissed independence as a "wild and visionary scheme" that was "no less reactionary" than the "designs

of British tories."[46]

Alone among the nation's mainstream dailies, the Hearst papers were early and consistent advocates of Irish independence. When the United States entered the war Hearst suggested that freedom for Ireland should be one of America's war aims--a position which echoed that of the Irish-American press.[47]

The Times often included reports of Irish-American rallies and conventions in stories about the arrest of alien enemies and German spies.[48] Editorial commentary regularly spilled over into news reports about Irish meetings. A May, 1918 meeting of the I.P.L., for example, was characterized in a news report as a

> . . .strange kind of gathering held at a time when Fifth Avenue was full of marching soldiers and when the whole city was celebrating the success of the Liberty Loan drive.[49]

The same report suggested that one of the speeches delivered at the I.P.L. gathering was ". . .very near crossing the line that divides sedition from loyalty."[50]

The Times also attacked those in Congress who supported Irish independence. In January 1918, for example, Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin of Montana introduced a resolution to Congress calling for support for Irish independence. The resolution requested that Ireland be included among those nations "for whose freedom we are fighting." The Times responded with an editorial which called the lone woman in Congress "a pitiless (sic) example of emancipation:

> Miss Rankin is ready to play the game of our enemies, foreign and domestic . . . to insult our loyal democratic comrades in the war, to act in harmony with German propagandists, the Sinn Feiners. . . .Here and in Ireland, Sinn Fein is our foe. . . .[Sinn Fein is] a contemptible organ of sedition.[51]

In contrast to the New York Times, the New York World was more evenhanded in its coverage of Irish-American efforts on behalf of Ireland. The World more often refrained from editorializing in its news reports about Irish-American activities. While the World questioned the loyalty of "a small number of persons who seek to make trouble for an ally of the U.S.," it also acknowledged American sympathy for Ireland and noted Prime Minister Lloyd George's desire to produce good will among the American public by settling the Irish question.[52]

The World blamed the ongoing crisis in Ireland on Britain's unwillingness to grant Home Rule.[53] To the New York Times, however, the failure of Home Rule was a direct consequence of the inability of the Irish to get along with each other.[54] The Times was so protective of British public opinion and so convinced of the pro-British sympathies of the American public that it once chastised the Washington correspondent of the London Times for reporting that many in the United States would be upset if Britain failed to apply Wilson's principles of self-determination to Ireland. The New York Times complained that such reports painted a false picture of American public opinion. "Were the censors asleep?" the paper asked.[55]

Irish Conspiracies

Reports of alleged German-Irish plots appeared regularly in the mainstream press throughout 1917 and 1918. These reports were often

heavy on innuendo and thin on evidence.

In September, 1917, the so-called Bernstorff and von Igel revelations charged, among other things, that certain Irish-American leaders, including John Devoy, editor of the Gaelic-American, Jeremiah O'Leary, publisher of Bull, and Daniel Cohalan, a justice of the New York Supreme Court, sought German assistance in support of the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin.[56] The revelations received page-one coverage in newspapers across the nation. Many were prepared to believe the worst. The San Francisco Chronicle concluded that Cohalan was a "pro-Kaiser conspirator."[57] The New York Times noted that Viereck's Weekly, a prominent German-American newspaper, had supported Cohalan as a candidate for the U.S. Senate.[58] The Literary Digest ran a summary of news reports concerning the revelations under the headline "America Infested With German Spies."[59]

The Boston Transcript commented:

> The time has come for the Irish societies to say under which flag they stand--whether with the country of their people's refuge . . .or whether with the Cohalans, Devoys, and O'Learys . . .the plotters against America's integrity and welfare.[60]

Several New York newspapers called for Cohalan's removal from office.[61] The New York Times observed:

> The thing needs no proof. . . .It makes no difference that some of the men who are engaged in this movement may be merely foolish or deluded and not in receipt of money from Wilhelmstrasse. There are others who are, and these dupes are merely their tools.[62]

The Hearst papers gave prominent coverage to the von Igel

revelations as well as to the denials of the alleged Irish conspirators. Justice Cohalan denied knowing von Igel and claimed that he was the victim of a plot to discredit the Irish cause. Jeremiah O'Leary also denied knowledge of or involvement in any sabotage plans.[63]

The release of the documents was timed to ensure maximum impact. The Justice Department had possession of the information for some time--16 months in the case of the von Igel documents. The revelations--which dealt exclusively with events prior to America's entry into the war--were designed to discredit the most vocal Irish-American critics of Great Britain at a time of increasing agitation in support of Irish independence.[64]

The New York Times gave prominent coverage to alleged Irish-American plots throughout the remainder of 1917. Based in part upon allegations made by Lloyd George in Britain, the Times claimed that plans for another German-inspired uprising--a second "Dublin riot"--had been uncovered in the U.S. and that the Secret Service was about to swoop down upon Sinn Fein conspirators.[65] These reports claimed that Secret Service documents--none of which were produced--contained proof of Sinn Fein collusion with Germany. Devoy denied the existence of a plot, but the Times concluded that the unsubstantiated reports provided sufficient proof of treason:

> As friends of Germany and enemies of England, Sinn Fein in Ireland and its abettors in the United States are necessarily enemies of the United States. They are doing all in their power to beat the United States whose cause cannot be separated from any of her associates in the war. . . .Sinn Fein is seeking and helping to make war on the United States. . . .[the] gravity of the crime calls for severe punishment.[66]

The New York World, the Chicago Tribune and the San Francisco Chronicle also devoted substantial coverage to the alleged plots and to the rumors of impending arrests.[67] These papers, however, did not draw the same editorial conclusions.

In May, 1918, another alleged conspiracy captured national attention when the British arrested 500 leaders of Sinn Fein in a sudden sweep across Ireland. The 500 were held without formal charges, but reports emanating from the British Press Bureau and reprinted in the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune, the San Francisco Chronicle, the San Francisco Examiner and the New York World called attention to yet another German plot. The story received page one-coverage in each of the papers for several days.[68]

The reports charged that Sinn Fein members in the United States and Ireland had conspired with German agents to foment another rebellion scheduled for May 1918. In exchange for German aid, the rebels would provide Germany with a submarine base in Ireland. Arrests of Irish leaders in the United States were reported to be imminent.[69] British authorities claimed to have irrefutable evidence to support their allegations and suggested that the details of the conspiracy had been provided by the American Secret Service.[70]

No evidence was ever released and the May conspiracy appears to have been a creation of British imagination. Ever sensitive to American public opinion, the British hoped to discredit Irish nationalism by making it appear that a German-Irish conspiracy had

been uncovered by the American government.[71]

The tactic proved successful. Even the Hearst papers--normally suspicious of British influence and intentions--were seduced into giving credence to the conspiracy tale. In its survey of press reports about the story, the Literary Digest concluded:

> American sympathy for Ireland received a shock . . . [when it learned of the] . . .treasonable conspiracy with German agents against Great Britain, on evidence unearthed by our government agents here.[72]

The U.S. government neither confirmed nor denied the British version of events. The Times characterized the attitude in Washington as one of "profound reticence." The Chicago Tribune reasoned that London withheld its evidence because of security considerations.[73] Despite the absence of proof, many newspapers gave credence to the reports. The Chicago Tribune concluded that Sinn Fein was guilty of treason toward America and Great Britain even if the allegations of German conspiracy proved untrue: "Sinn Fein [is] . . . striking a blow not only at Great Britain but at our American soldiers on the firing line."[74] The New York World observed:

> Although the proofs of Sinn Fein plotting with Germany are less definite and immediate than preliminary reports had foreshadowed, they have placed the criminality of Sinn Feinism beyond doubt.[75]

The San Francisco Chronicle, while it damned Sinn Fein, refrained from condemning all advocates of Irish independence:

> Ireland may have her domestic grievances against England, but Ireland has no grievance against America or any other of the allies fighting against Kaiserism.[76]

The Hearst papers issued no editorial comments on the issue. he cumulative weight of rumors and reports of conspiracies raised

questions about the patriotism of those Irish-American editors who continued to advocate Irish independence or criticize Great Britain.

The New York Mayoral Election

Loyalty was the primary issue in 1917 mayoral election in New York City. The four-man race pitted Tammany Democratic candidate Judge John Hylan, Republican William M. Bennett, and Socialist Morris Hillquit against incumbent Mayor Mitchell.[77] Both the New York Times and the New York World were adamant in their support of Mitchell--who ran on a platform of "straight Americanism"--and in their condemnation of the challengers. Hearst's New York American backed Hylan, and Hearst's endorsement of Hylan was itself an issue. The names of certain Irish-American leaders also figured prominently in the campaign.

Mitchell himself often raised the names of O'Leary and Cohalan to demonstrate that Hylan had the support of "every seditious, every traitorous, every disloyal element to be found in this city."[78] On the eve of the election Mitchell accused Hylan of being "publicly allied with men whose loyalty has been officially denounced by the U.S. government--Cohalan, Devoy and O'Leary."[79]

The Times concluded that the "Irish Revolutionists. . . the forces of disloyalty" had divided their support between the two "Hohenzollern" candidates: O'Leary and Cohalan for Hylan; the Irish Progressive League for Hillquit.[80] The attacks upon Hylan became so strident that O'Leary's brother-in-law, Grover Whelan, who later

became Hylan's secretary, was forced to publicly disavow any connection--beyond marriage--to O'Leary.[81]

The World also attempted to link Hylan to O'Leary. According to the World, the election of Hylan would all but mark the demise of western civilization. The World condemned Hylan as "an unscrupulous blatherskite and demagogue" who was "inflaming class hatred and capitalizing on the ignorance of the great alien populations of New York City." Hylan, the World predicted, would lead the ignorant masses in a "heedless rule of idleness, ignorance, violence and confiscation."[82] The American, which alone among the mainstream New York City dailies supported Hylan, openly courted the immigrant vote, dismissing Mitchell as "the little bother to the rich, the ally of greedy corporations and the benefactor of syndicates speculating in city property."[83]

New Yorkers--nearly half of whom were foreign-born--paid little heed to the apocalyptic warnings of the New York Times and the New York World: Hylan won the election by a plurality. The significance of Mitchell's defeat was noted by the pro-Irish press. America, the Jesuit weekly magazine, observed:

> For a candidate to wrap himself in the national emblem and prance madly from borough to borough, bellowing treason to all who disagree with him, is too base for characterization. It is significant that to date 494,143 citizens of New York are traitors, for that number is known to have voted against the painted patriot.[84]

Hearst celebrated Mitchell's defeat as a personal triumph:

> No longer can every little aspirant for office wrap himself in the American flag and denounce as traitors all who do not believe him fit.[85]

What was most significant about the 1917 New York mayoral election,

however, was the readiness of the Times and the World to raise the names of Devoy, Cohalan and O'Leary as ultimate examples of disloyalty in a campaign in which loyalty was by far the dominant issue.[86]

Conscription

In April 1918, Prime Minister David Lloyd George decided to impose conscription upon Ireland. Massive losses in the battle of Picardy had left the British army dangerously short of manpower and Lloyd George felt compelled to act despite the near certainty that conscription would provoke chaos in Ireland. Lloyd George was also concerned that forced conscription, which was certain to meet fierce resistance, could alienate American public opinion.[87] These concerns were echoed in much of the British press. Many British papers suggested that the policy would require more manpower to enforce than it would produce[88] The London Daily Chronicle, for example, labelled the move a "blunder and a catastrophe."[89]

The conscription question garnered much attention in the New York Times, the New York World, the Chicago Tribune the San Francisco Chronicle and the San Francisco Examiner. The Tribune, the Chronicle, and the Examiner devoted page-one coverage to criticism in Ireland and England of the conscription plan.[90] The three papers, however, did not take overt editorial positions on the issue.

In the two New York papers, however, the issue provoked more

editorial comment than any other Irish-related issue in 1917 and 1918. New York City was the nation's center of Irish-American agitation; as a consequence, Irish issues garnered more attention. Both the Times and the World supported conscription, but although the World expressed certain reservations, the Times was adamant in its advocacy.

The World carried several editorials in support of conscription, but it also acknowledged opposition to the plan in both Ireland and Britain. The World accused Britain of having "broken faith with Ireland" and suggested that Home Rule would have to be implemented if conscription were to succeed.[91] The World also began to carry news accounts regaling the European exploits of the predominantly Irish-American 69th Regiment of the U.S. Army.

The Times, however, insisted that conscription was necessary for the "preservation of Irish liberty," and it labeled anti-conscription demonstrations in the U.S. as "pro-German and anti-American."[92] The Times denied that Ireland had any legitimate grievances against Britain. The Times suggested instead that the Irish were the ungrateful recipients of British beneficence:

> Ireland runs over with prosperity. Her farmers fattened by British legislation, have been rushing about in automobiles to Sinn Fein meetings. . . .Irishmen eat of the fat and drink of the sweet while England lives narrowly and is partly rationed. . . .The world has heard somewhat too much about `the wrongs of Ireland.'. . .For a generation, the English democracy has sought to confer benefits upon Ireland.[93]

The World presented a different view of conditions in Ireland. Four months earlier, an English correspondent for the World filed this report:

> It is said that Ireland is now prosperous. . . .I do not call that country prosperous in which the common winter spectacle . . . is barefoot children.[94]

Realizing the plan was untenable, Lloyd George finally abandoned conscription in June, 1918. The Times condemned his decision as an ". . .abject surrender" to Irish intransigence and the "arrogance" of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.[95] Throughout the period, neither paper mentioned that 200,000 Irish men were serving with the British forces in Europe. The papers also failed to note that 150,000 British troops were garrisoned in Ireland as an army of occupation. After June 1918, coverage of the Irish question declined in both the Times and the World for the remainder of the war.

Conclusions

Mainstream press coverage of Irish-American activities and of events in Ireland during 1917 and 1918 was marked by suspicion and hysteria. The press' attitude toward the Irish in America often reflected the mood of vigilantism and resurgent nativism that afflicted much of the nation. The New York Times, the New York World, the Chicago Tribune, the San Francisco Chronicle, the San Francisco Examiner and the newspapers surveyed by the Literary Digest do not necessarily represent a valid cross section of American press attitudes. They did, however, constitute a chorus of powerful voices that often joined in condemnation of Irish-American support for the independence movement in Ireland. By war's end,

Irish-American nationalism had become nearly synonymous in much of the mainstream press with disloyalty towards the United States.

Large daily newspapers gave credence to every imagined plot brought forth by British propagandists yet they neglected to give equal attention to the paucity of evidence. Even the Hearst papers--notorious adversaries of the British--succumbed to British propaganda efforts.

Irish-Americans overwhelmingly advocated American neutrality in the early days of the war. The Department of Justice kept extensive files on various Irish-American organizations and Justice agents regularly monitored the speeches and activities of Irish-American leaders.[96] Yet there is little evidence of disloyalty or sedition among even the most strident elements of the Irish-American community following America's entry into the war. For all its vigilance, the Department of Justice turned up sufficient evidence for only one serious indictment against an Irish-American during the war.[97]

The Hearst papers were alone in their generally sympathetic coverage of Irish issues. The New York World, the San Francisco Chronicle and the Chicago Tribune made some small attempts to be evenhanded in their coverage of Irish-American issues. But the cumulative weight of their reports called into question the loyalty of those who advocated American support for Irish independence. Of the three newspapers, the Tribune was most willing to equate pro-Ireland agitation with sedition.

The New York Times, however, embraced an imperial view of the

world that was at times more jingoistic than even that of the British Tory press. The Times saw the Irish question as a kind of Manichean struggle between the forces of darkness and light: Irish-American support for Irish independence, in that context, became synonymous with treason to the United States.

The Times abandoned all restraints in its attacks upon the loyalty of certain Irish-American editors and it regularly accused Irish newspapers of sowing discontent within the Irish-American community.[98] Ironically, the issues of the Gaelic-American, the Irish World and the Freeman's Journal that were barred from the mails by the U.S. Post Office carried reports on conscription similar to those quoted from London in the mainstream press.

At least part of the Times' animosity towards the Irish must be attributed to the success of British propaganda efforts. Lord Northcliffe, owner of the Times and the Daily Mail of London, headed the British Information Bureau in New York. At its height, the Information Bureau had 500 officials with 10,000 assistants working in the United States in what one scholar characterized as ". . .one of the major propaganda efforts in history." The New York Times had a number of pro-British editors on staff and at least one British citizen.[99] Irish-American editors were convinced that Lord Northcliffe dictated editorial policy at the New York Times regarding Irish issues.

It is impossible to determine what if any role--if any--newspapers like the New York Times and the New York World played in encouraging the postal suppression of the Irish-American press in

New York. At the very least, they contributed to a public mood of suspicion by casting aspersions upon the loyalty of those who advocated independence for Ireland. The negative coverage of Irish-American issues served to endorse the policies of those faceless men at the Post Office who censored and suppressed the Irish-American press.

Notes

[1]The Freeman's Journal of New York and the Irish Press of Philadelphia suspended publication in 1918. The Bull went under in Oct., 1917, after being banned from the mails.

[2]Joan M. Jensen, Price of Vigilance (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968) 127, 146. H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War 1917-1918. (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1957) 18.

[3]The Justice Department continued until 1921 to receive letters from these organizations complaining about the Irish-American press and about those Irish-American organizations that agitated in behalf of Irish independence. See file number 191962, Department of Justice-Clasified File 9-12, National Archives, Washington D.C.

[4]James R. Mock, Censorship 1917 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1941) 28. Jensen 31, 47, 86. APL operatives worked underconve in banks and industries. They carried concealed badges and often worked undercover in the sense that their surveillance activities were secret.

[5]Jensen 187.

[6]John Lord O'Brian, special assistant to the Attorney General for war work, forbade the APL from investigating persons merely because of their membership in unpopular groups. He was unsuccessful. Jensen 233. President Wilson reportedly feared the power of the APL but was unwilling to overrule Attorney General Gregory's support of the organization. Peterson 19.

[7]Mock 28-30.

[8]Jensen 297.

[9]Peterson 73.

[10]Jensen 295.

[11]Melvyn Dubofsky concludes that the lynching of Little won sympathy from much of the nation's press. Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All (New York: Quadrangle, 1969) 392.

[12]"Lynch Law and Treason," Literary Digest 18 Aug. 1917: 12.

[13]"Lynch Law" 12.

[14]"Lynch Law" 13, 14. Montana's senior senator, H.L. Meyers, also blamed Washington for Little's murder: "Had he been arrested and put in jail for his seditious and incendiary talks, he would not have been lynched." Quoted in Dubofsky 392.

[15]"The Menace of Sedition," Literary Digest 1 Sept. 1917: 12.

[16]"Gerard Flays U.S. Prussians," San Francisco Examiner 4 Oct. 1917: 11.

[17]"Tumulty Denies Story of Arrest as Teuton Spy," San Francisco Examiner 14 November 1917: 2.

[18]"Unpunished Spies," editorial, New York Times 28 Jan. 1918: 12.

[19]"Kahn Would Silence Sedition With Rope," New York Times 25 March 1918: 8. Congressman Julius Kahn (Cal.) was the father of the World War One military draft law.

[20]Peterson 194-208.

[21]"Tar and Feathers for Coats," New York World 14 April 1918: 8.

[22]"Longevity of Spies," Literary Digest 23 Feb. 1918: 12.

[23]"Longevity of Spies" 12.

[24]"The First War-Lynching," Literary Digest 20 April 1918: 16. "Obstructing Law and the War," editorial, New York World 6 April 1918: 10. "Lynching is Blamed to Delays on Spy Bill," San Francisco Examiner 6 April 1918: 1. "Stronger Curb on Enemies at Home," Literary Digest 4 May 1918: 19.

[25]John Lord O'Brian wanted President Wilson to issue a statement condemning mob violence during this period. Wilson remained silent until July, 1918, when he finally made a public statement to that effect. Jensen 158. Eleven men charged with Praeger's murder were acquitted by an Illinois jury after 45 minutes

of deliberation in June 1918.

[26]Attorney General Gregory argued that legislation to insure loyalty would curb mob violence. Peterson 211-212. Zachariah Chafee concludes that passage of the Sedition Act of 1918, which amended the Espionage Act of 1917 by imposing stronger penalties for disloyal speech, came largely as a response to the mob violence of early 1918. Zachariah Chafee, Free Speech in the United States (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1954) 41.

[27]"Cabinet Discusses Praeger Lynching," New York World 6 April 1918: 7.

[28]See "Contribution to Sanity," editorial, New York World 15 April 1918: 8.

[29]See the San Francisco Examiner 21 April 1918: 6, 8. 23 April 1918: 7. 4 May 1918: 1. 10 May 1918: 4.

[30]Kerby A. Miller, Emigrants and Exiles. Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America (New York: Greenwood, 1987). Miller discusses how the exile mythos--that the Irish were forced out of Ireland through British tyranny--molded Irish-American attitudes even though objective cirmcumstances often proved otherwise.

[31]Thirteenth Census of the United States, vol. 1 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912) 879.

[32]Lawrence J. McCaffrey, The Irish Diaspora in America (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1976) 134-135.

[33]Alan J. Ward, "America and the Irish Problem 1899-1921," Irish Historical Studies. March 1968: 66.

[34]Ward 73. The U.I.L.'s decline was so precipitous that by 1915 the Irish Party was forced to send funds to America to keep the organization alive.

[35]Clan na Gael, an Irish-American organization headed by John Devoy, editor of the Gaelic-American, helped finance the Easter Rising. A load of German weapons bound for the insurgents was intercepted by British forces off the coast of Ireland.

[36]The F.O.I.F., which was formed at the Irish Race Convention held in New York City in 1915, represented a coalition of several Irish societies. After the war it grew into the largest and most successful Irish-American lobbying organization in history. The I.P.L. was socialist in orientation.

[37]Dean R. Esslinger, "American German and Irish Attitudes Toward Neutrality, 1914-1917: A Study of Catholic Minorities," Catholic Historical Review (July 1967).

[38]The A.D.S. was a citizens' organization founded in 1914 by Teddy Roosevelt to promote "100% Americanism." Jensen 96. The "Americanism" of the A.D.S. was decidedly Anglo/Saxon in orientation. Roosevelt regularly attacked "hyphens" and questioned the loyalty of the foreign-language press. Fite 81, 97. Supporters of Irish independence were regular targets of Roosevelt's ire: "Any Sinn Feiner who directly or indirectly seeks to discredit America's allies . . .should be interned as an enemy alien or sent out of the country." "Would Intern Sinn Feiners," New York Times 26 May 1918: 3.

[39]"Asks President to Define Treason," New York Times 17 Aug. 1917: 7. "Treason and Free Speech," editorial, New York Times 25 Aug. 1917: 6.

[40]"Free Speech in War," editorial, New York World 26 Aug. 1917: 2E.

[41]Articles concerning the overwhelmingly Irish 69th Regiment appeared throughout August on page one of the American. For examples see page one, August 14 and August 17.

[42]"Police Clubs End Soapbox Sedition In Broadway Riot," New York Times 30 August 1917: 1.

[43]Sinn Fein ("ourselves alone"), was founded in Ireland by Arthur Griffith in 1908 as an alternative to the Irish Parliamentary Party. Sinn Fein initially advocated a limited form of Irish independence under a dual monarchy. Sinn Fein played no part in the 1916 Easter Rising. Following 1916, Sinn Fein advocated complete Irish independence. The term "Sinn Feiner" was appropriated by much of the American mainstream press to label those in Ireland and in the U.S. who advocated Irish independence.

[44]"Ireland Must Unite," editorial, New York Times 26 May 1917: 12.

[45]"Sinn Fein Rebels," editorial, New York Times 25 Oct. 1917: 14.

[46]"America and Sinn Fein," editorial, Chicago Tribune 22 May 1918: 8.

[47]See "When War Is Over We Should Insist on Justice and Freedom for Ireland," editorial, San Francisco Examiner 27 April 1917: 20.

[48]See "Sinn Fein Speeches Under Inspection," New York Times 6 May 1918: 5.

[49]"Sinn Fein Speakers Attack Allies," New York Times 5 May 1918: 12.

[50]"Sinn Fein Speakers" 12.

[51]"A Woman in Public Life," editorial, New York Times 6 Jan. 1918: II2.

[52]"Ireland's Worst Enemy," editorial, New York World 20 May 18: 6.

[53]"British Tories Will Fight Any Home Rule Plan," New York World 3 May 1918: 1. "Home Rule Pledged to Ireland," editorial, New York World 18 April 1918: 6.

[54]"Ireland and Conscription," editorial, New York Times 28 April 1918: II2. "Chance of Settlement," editorial, New York Times 18 May 1917: 12.

[55]"Reprehensible," editorial, New York Times 24 Jan. 1918: 8

[56]On September 21, 1917, Secretary of State Lansing released the contents of a telegram allegedly written by the former German ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff. The telegram, dated January 22, 1917, requested $50,000 in German funds to lobby Congress in support of German interests. The money was to be funneled through an unnamed organization. Most news reports suggested that Irish organizations were involved. The document also suggested that an official German declaration in support of Ireland would be ". . .highly desirable in order to gain support of Irish influence here." Quoted in "Plot to Buy Peace Angers Congressmen," Chicago Tribune 22 Sept. 1917: 1.

The following day the Committee on Public Information released the von Igel papers which had been seized in a secret service raid on an advertising agency in April 1916. Included in the documents were unsigned letters implicating Devoy, Cohalan and O'Leary. Cohalan, for example, was said to have offered submarine bases in Germany in exchange for German support for the Easter Rising in 1916. "U.S. Exposes More German Plots," San Francisco Chronicle 23 Sept. 1917: 1.

[57]"U.S. Exposes More German Plots," San Francisco Chronicle 23 Sept. 1917: 1.

[58]"Cohalan And Other Irish Leaders Namerd In New Expose of German Plots," New York Times 23 Sept. 1917: 1. The proper name of the German-American newspaper was Viereck's American Weekly. The Times declined to include the word "American" when referring to the paper.

[59]"America Infested With German Spies," Literary Digest 6 Oct. 1917: 9. On September 21, 1917, Secretary of State Lansing released the contents of a telegram written by the former German ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff. The telegram, dated January 22, 1917, requested $50,000 in German funds to promote

Germany's interests in Congress. According to Lansing's report, the funds would be funneled through an unnamed organization in the U.S. The telegram also suggested that an official German declaration in favor of Ireland would be ". . . highly desirable in order to gain the support of Irish influence here." The following day the Committee on Public Information made public the von Igel papers which had been obtained in a Secret Service raid in April, 1916.

[60] Quoted in Literary Digest 6 Oct. 1917: 10.

[61] "America Infested" 11. Another justice of the New York Supreme Court, John Goff, was also prominent in the Irish independence movement.

[62] Quoted in Literary Digest 6 Oct. 1917: 9.

[63] San Francisco Examiner 23 Sept. 1917: 1, 4. "O'Leary Issues Denial of Sabotage Complicity," San Francisco Examiner 11 Oct. 1917: 4.

[64] Soon after the Bernstorff and von Igel revelations, Postmaster General Burleson announced that the Post Office would take action against "treasonable" newspapers that questioned the truth of the revelations or "circulated matter for the purpose of arousing prejudice against . . . the nations now cooperating with us." Quoted in "Fangs of The Traitor Press To Be Pulled By Post Chief," Chicago Tribune 26 Oct. 1917: 2.

[65] "German Scheming With Irish Now and Last February Revealed," New York Times 24 Oct. 1917: 1. "Seek More Sinn Feiners," New York Times 25 Oct. 1917: 8. "Suspect Brothers as German Spies," New York Times 28 Oct. 1917: I16. "Seized Letters Reveal German Aid to Sinn Fein," New York Times 11 Nov. 1917: 1.

[66] "Sinn Fein Rebels," editorial, New York Times 25 Oct. 1917: 14.

[67] "Germany Plots Again To Land Arms In Erin," San Francisco Chronicle 24 Oct. 1917: 1. "Germany Plots Again To Arm Irish Rebels," Chicago Tribune 24 Oct. 1917: 1. "More Arrests Looked For In Sinn Fein Plot," Chicago Tribune 25 Oct. 1917: 4.

[68] See New York Times 18-20 May 1918. Chicago Tribune 18, 19, 22 May 1918. San Francisco Chronicle 18-22 May 1918. San Francisco Chronicle 18-22 May 1918. New York World 19, 22, 26 May 1918.

[69] "Irish Plotters in U.S. Exposed," San Francisco Examiner 25 May 1918: 1. "Irish Plot Leaders in U.S. To Be Seized," San Francisco Exposed 26 May 1918: 1.

[70] See footnote 57, also "Says Irish Plotting Menaces America," New York Times 20 May 1918: 3. "Sinn Fein Rising Planned for May,"

New York Times 26 May 1918 :3. These reports were quickly followed by allegations emanating from Washington that Sinn Feiners and German agents had attempted to stir up Finns, Negroes and Lithuanians in the U.S. but had succeeded only with Irish-Americans. The Tribune spoke of "conclusive evidence" and stated that conspirators in Chicago, Boston and New York would soon be arrested and tried for treason. "Irish Plot In U.S. Includes Other Races," Chigago Tribune 22 May 1918: 1. "Irish-German Plot Made Under U.S. Flag," San Francisco Chronicle 21 May 1918: 1.

[71]This tactic was a regular part of British propaganda efforts in the United States. Concerning the alleged May plot, Colonel House sent the following message to President Wilson: ". . .the British Government wish this government to pretend that we have found some of the treasonable matter concerning Ireland. If I were you I would caution Lansing about this, the British have made several attempts in this direction before, as you will remember." Quoted in Alden Jamison, "Irish-Americans, the Irish Question and American Diplomacy 1895-1921," diss., Harvard U, 1942, 583-587.

[72]"The Sinn-Fein Round-Up," Literary Digest 1 June 1918: 25.

[73]"Washington is Reticent," New York Times 21 May 1918: 4. "Ireland Split By Expose of German Plot," Chicago Tribune 26 May 1918: 10.

[74]"America and Sinn Fein," editorial, Chicago Tribune 22 May 1918: 8.

[75]"Sinn Fein Plot Laid Bare By Great Britain," New York World 26 May 1918: 1. There is evidence that at least some newspapers in the U.S. were reluctant to accept the story at face value. The Literary Digest reported that some American papers were demanding proof of the allegations. "The Sinn Fein `Plot' and the Evidence," Literary Digest 15 June 1918: 17.

[76]"Kaiser Balked in Ireland," editorial, San Francisco Chronicle 22 May 1918: 20.

[77]Mitchell, who lost the Republican primary to Bennett, ran as the "fusion" candidate in the general election. Ironically, Mitchell was grandson of an Irish revolutionary and journalist, John M. Mitchell, who was forced to flee Ireland for the United States in 1853. According to one scholar, the younger Mitchell was the leading Preparedness mayor in America and he "personified the most strident form of Americanism during the war years." J.P. Buckley, The New York Irish: Their View of American Foreign Policy 1914-1921, diss., New York University, 1974, (New York: Arno, 1976) 132-133.

[78]"Mayor Links Hylan and Jerry O'Leary," New York Times 15 Oct. 1917: 4.

[79]"War Assailed as Hillquit Speaks," New York Times 2 Nov. 1917: 1. 5. Mitchell also attempted to link Hearst with O'Leary. "Loyalty is Issue Declares Mitchell," New York World 27 Oct. 1917: 5.

[80]"Among the Sinn Fein," editorial, New York Times 3 Nov. 1917: 14.

[81]According to the Times, Whelan was head of the Business Men's League, an organization which was instrumental in securing the mayoral nomination for Hylan. "Repudiates O'Leary," New York Times 15 Oct. 1917: 4.

[82]Tammany's Riots," editorial, New York World 19 Oct. 1917: 10.

[83]"What the Renomination of Mayor Mitchell Would Mean to the People," editorial, New York American 18 July 1917: 20.

[84]Quoted in J.P. Buckley, The New York Irish: Their View of American Foreign Policy 1914-1921, diss., New York University, 1974, (New York: Arno, 1976) 177. America was edited by an Irish cleric, Rev. Richard Tierney. Prior to the United States declaration of war, the magazine expressed pro-German sentiments.

[85]"The American People Will Not Allow Their Highest and Holiest Motives To Be Profaned, Their Noblest Sentiments To Be Violated And Prostituted To Further Selfish Objects of Political Partisanship," signed editorial by W.R. Hearst, reprinted from the New York American in the San Francisco Examiner 7 Nov. 1917: 22.

[86]According to the New York World, O'Leary considered running against Mitchell for mayor of New York on a "free speech" platform if Hearst decided not to run. "Ponder Plan To Run O'Leary, New York World 26 August 1917: 12.

[87]George acknowledged that conscription might only get an additional 160,000 men. Ward 82.

[88]"The English Press on Conscription," Literary Digest 18 May 1918: 17-18.

[89]Quoted in "Angry Protest Aroused By Lloyd George As He Announces Conscription For Ireland," New York Times 10 April 1918: 1.

[90]See the Chicago Tribune 10 April 1918: 1,4; 11 April 1918: 1, 4; 13 April 1918: 1; 14 April 1918: I6; 15 April 1918: 3; 5 May 1918: 6. San Francisco Chronicle 10 April 1918: 1; 11 April 1918: 1. San Francisco Examiner 10 April 1918: 1; 11 April 1918:1; 13 April 1918: 1; 14 /april 1918: 4; 17 April 1918: 1; 19 April 1918: 1, 5.

[91]"Conscription for Ireland," editorial, New York World 11 April 1918: 10. "Ireland's Duty to Itself," editorial, New York World 12 April 1918: 8.

[92]"Conscription for Ireland," editorial, New York Times 11 April 1918: 12. "Irish Conscription," editorial, New York Times 12 April 1918: 12.

[93]"Wrongs and Wrongheads," editorial, New York Times 7 May 1918: 12.

[94]"Strength of Sinn Fein Lies in Labor Cause," New York World 11 Nov. 1917: 1.

[95]"Irish Home Rule and Conscription Put Aside," New York Times 21 June 1918: 1.

[96]See file numbers 191962 and 188967, Department of Justice-Classified File 9-12, National Archives, Washington D.C. These files contain various letters and reports relating to Justice Department surveillance of Irish-American activities during the period.

[97]Jeremian O'Leary, editor of Bull was tried and acquited under the Espionage Act of conspiracy to commit treason and espionage against the United States. Justice Department records show that John Lord O'Brian once considered charging John Devoy with contempt of court. Letter, O'Brian to Francis G. Caffey, assistant district attorney, 1 July 1918, file number 188967, Records of the Department of Justice. Jamison reports that there were "one or two actual indictments" relating to Irish-American activities during the period. Jamison 591.

[98]"Sinn Fein Meeting Likely To Be Stopped," New York Times 3 May 1918: 7. "Irish World Banned," New York Times 23 Jan. 1918: 9.

[99]Knightley, Phillip, The First Casualty (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975) 119-121.

UNEQUAL PARTNERS

GENDER RELATIONSHIPS IN VICTORIAN RADICAL JOURNALISM

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In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, forces supporting the growth and consolidation of industrial capitalism across the North American continent were fiercely resisted by an intellectual elite whose writings founded the basis for a Victorian "eclectic radicalism."[1] The spirit by which this radicalism infiltrated numerous working-class movement cultures can still be experienced in the pages of the trades union and socialist press from this period, specifically but not exclusively, in those journals sponsored and/or supported by the Holy and Noble Order of the Knights of Labor of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In Canada where the Order remained strong well into the early years of the twentieth century, most dissenting intellectuals became dissident journalists. While giving literary substance to the Knights' platform, they simultaneously exploited the Order's journals in order to publish a mosaic of social recipes for a new world order primarily directed to a working-class readership. To owners and managers, these journalists and their fellow travellers outside the Knights of Labor, posed a significant threat to established order. In retaliation, the dominant elites attempted to remove campaigns for working-class rights from the national agenda. In many cases, they were successful.

Many of the ideas which first saw the light of day in these journals, such as the right to recall legislative representatives and the right to approve legislation by referendum, have been adopted by contemporary right-of-centre intellectuals. But, it is not exclusively true that the placement of an idea somewhere on

the ideological continuum between radical and conservative is necessary linked to the culture of the age in which it arose. Significantly, some so-called "radical" ideas had rigidly conservative agendas in their own times. No where is this more evident than in the support given by dissident journalists to campaigns conducted by working women for equal pay for work of equal value and for the elimination of gender barriers to enfranchisement.

IMAGES OF WOMEN-SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

At first glance, it would appear that the image of Victorian women underwent a significant transition in treatment by non-conformist journalists between Confederation and the First World War. From the woman designated by God and fate as the unquestioning servant of man and his family, she became a person with her own but limited rights. But, Victorian dissident journalists paid mere lip service to the gospel of gender equality while simultaneously placing noticeable restrictions on its definitions. Consistently, they argued that the late nineteenth century woman's place in an urban, factory society was to be governed by her relationship to men both within and outside marriage. In this sense, gender became THE eterminant in defining women's social roles. Class, if not ignored, was a secondary consideration.

In the early 1870s, approximately a decade before the Knights of Labor moved north to organize workers in Canada's newly emerging urban factories, there was no suggestion that it was legitimate for

a woman to divide her time between marriage and work outside the home. Toronto's earliest labour newspaper, the **Ontario Workman** declared that "for young married women to undertake to contribute to the family income is in most cases utterly undesirable."[2] The newspaper's editorialist proclaimed that wives must recognize that "the husband is the very roof-tree of the house, the cornerstone of the edifice, the keystone of the arch called home. He is the bread-winner of the family, the defense of its glory, the beginning and the ending of the golden chain of life which surrounds it, its counsellor, its lawgiver and its king."[3]

As a mother, it was the wife's duty to "attend to training up the future men of the nation. It is the mother who moulds the character; under her gentle influence the youthful mind receives its first impression."[4] The journal suggested that Canadian wives should follow the example of Arab women "who think much more of their husbands than of themselves; they like to please their husbands; they are obedient, they are much better than English women: a man may do with them just as he pleases."[5] In this new gender driven division of domestic labour, men were obliged to provide the material necessities for family life.

By the time the **Ontario Workman** passed into history in 1874, few urban, working-class women had the option of choosing between marriage and wage labour. Throughout the 1870s, a persistent economic downturn combined with employer determination to destroy the nascent union movement, forced women into the workplace to supplement the incomes of their frequently unemployed husbands.

Because their participation in the labour market was treated as temporary, few employers paid female workers wages equivalent to those earned by men. The pattern continued into the 1880s in spite of an economic recovery and a growth in employment which emerged when the factory system matured in Southern Ontario and western Quebec.

Unhappy with the second-class citizen status of women workers, W. H. Rowe, editor of the Knights of Labor's Hamilton, Ontario journal **Palladium of Labor**, appealed to employers to be fair to women workers. Rowe claimed the basic inborn goodness of the female should benefit employers. Noting that "a great many women are already employed in all departments of business, and in all capacities"[6], Rowe advised industrialists that "women who are so fortunate as to be given a chance to earn their living are regular in their habits. They are honest, sober, industrious, accurate, decent and safe."[7] Unlike male workers, "they do not smoke and drink and haunt billiard rooms. They do not spend money on hack riding and on frail companions. They do not know how to bet; they have no chance to gamble."[8] However, Rowe did not advocate equality of opportunity. His appeals to employers were restricted to those job categories which could best be defined as female ghettos. Like the majority of his non-conformist colleagues, Rowe firmly believed that female labour was an interim and preferable alternative to unemployment and the poor house and marriage was clearly preferable to all other alternatives. Like the **Ontario Workman** a decade earlier, Rowe and fellow Knights of Labor

journalists believed that men and women should occupy separate occupational spheres both at work and in the home.

Although women had become a permanent fixture in Canada's industrial environment in the 1880s, few late Victorian non-conformist journalists seriously attempted to reverse the kind of ingrained thinking on gender relations reported in the **Ontario Workman** which lionized the married woman at home with her children. In 1886, the Victoria, British Columbia Knights' newspaper, the **Industrial News**, stated "every girl should learn to sew and every boy should learn to use domestic tools, the carpenters' or the gardeners' or both."[9] As late as 1903, London, Ontario's **Industrial Banner** expressed serious concern that limited secondary school education was being wasted on the city's female students, whose mission in life, that is marriage and children, did not require such credentials.[10]

Most non-conformist editors, both those associated with the Knights of Labor and those writing for other pro-reform journals, stiffly resisted the idea of gender equality in the work place. They embarked on numerous campaigns to force women from the work place, one of which, the seemingly innovative "equal pay for work of equal value" had as its primary motive the mass dismissal of women from shops and factories. The journalists' zeal was only tempered by a fundamental humanism that implored them to treat equally all persons exploited by the factory system regardless of age and/or gender. Trades union journalists in particular had to confront the reality that any successful campaign to eliminate

gender discrimination in the workplace might result in enhancing the attractiveness of the labour market for women. It would also significantly increase the supply of labour, further weakening the bargaining capacity of male-dominated trades unions.

The dissident journalists inevitably concluded that female social and economic values must be measured by their potential for motherhood. An image of the irrevocable bond between feminity and procreation appeared in Victorian non-conformist journalism in various forms. The physical ability to bear children was THE symbol of female separateness. It was simultaneously a virtue, a social obligation and an undeniable corollary of nature.[11]

Motherhood was an occupation that Victorian women bore alone. Child care was the exclusive responsibility of women, whether they worked at home, in the factory or both. A female trades union journalist writing in Toronto's **The Toiler**, claimed that "women thus engaged are not free from household duties, it simply adds a new burden to her [sic] weary lot."[12] The new industrial order had torn her "from her family of little ones, who perhaps, are entrusted to strange hands, or left to run in the streets, while she seeks the factory to aid the husband in securing the daily bread."[13] The writer, Barbara Bandlow, wrote that industrial capitalism conspired to sacrifice working-class family solidarity to the pursuit of profit. Bandlow's views were often printed by socialist journalists. R. Parmeter Pettipiece's Vancouver, B.C. Marxist newspaper, the **Western Clarion**, observed that "it requires no very keen observer to discover the fact that capitalism is the

force that is disrupting the home, in so far as the working class is concerned."[14] But Pettipiece, in a fashion complementary to his Victorian predecessors, reiterated well-entrenched images of women. In his Marxist society of equals, he said "Let me say that she will still, in the new society as in the old, be the mother of the human family."[15]

There was more than an element of truth in Pettipiece's condemnation of industrial capitalism's performance in its relationship to the Victorian family. In part, the definition of distinct gender roles for Victorian men and women were determined primarily by economic considerations. Men were obliged to provide the financial support, a role which was constantly undermined when industrialists routinely used poorly-paid women and their children to inflate the labour supply artificially. This practice effectively limited male wages. By using female strike-breakers, industrialists routinely succeeded in breaking both strikes and union organizations.

Dissident journalists concluded that to successfully counteract this trend, they had to advocate that a woman's proper place was in marriage and in the home. To achieve this objective, the journalists sought to eliminate gender discrimination in the work place. They believed that if employers were forced to compensate men and women equally, they would no longer hire women. The campaign which spoke to "equal pay for work of equal value" attempted to achieve this goal. However, they encountered stubborn resistance to the idea not only from employers, but from organized

male workers incapable of understanding the journalists' objectives.

EQUALITY OR EQUIVALENCE

The unequal distribution of wages between male and female labour was addressed by virtually every dissident journalist in Victorian Canada. Both socialist and labour reform journalists linked the problem to the mysterious workings of the laws of supply and demand. Economic theory notwithstanding, the journalists were concerned that male workers would lose their dominance in the household economy if women remained in the workplace. Rowe's **Palladium of Labor** noted that "many women who should be at home attending to their domestic duties are compelled to go out to work because their husbands, brothers or fathers can not obtain anything to do in occupations where formerly the employment of female labour was the exception."[16] He concluded that "it is not that female labour is better, but because it is cheaper."[17]

Since his journal was the official voice of the Knights of Labor in Hamilton, Rowe supported the drive for equal pay for work of equal value. His support came with conditions. Rowe published a sermon delivered by a well-known pro-union preacher, the Reverend Herbert Talmage, in which the cleric declared "I demand that no one hedge up woman's pathway to a livelihood, I go so further and say woman should have equal compensation with men"[18]. In an addendum, the editor chastised women for competing with men for both work and income. Rowe's position was characteristic of the labour journalists' attempts to reshape female working concerns to

coincide with existing male grievances.

Rowe also believed that female factory employment was producing a potentially dangerous social division between middle-class women and those in industry and domestic service. "This stigma of social inferiority is felt still more keenly by working girls. Those who engage in domestic service or work in factories are treated as below the consideration of 'young ladies'."[19] Other farm protest and labour journals also addressed the issue.[20]

Toronto's **Trades Union Advocate** supported Rowe's position. Editor Eugene Donovan asked: "Is it not a fact that women are fast crowding out men in some branches of labour?"[21] He blamed the situation on greedy parents who forced their daughters to work in shoemaking, tailoring establishments, business and government offices. "The result is scarcity of work for men and low wages and untold misery and shame to their daughters in after life."[22]

During the same decade, Canadian dissident journalists took comfort in American campaigns to eliminate female labour. The National Typographical Union incorporated restrictive initiation practices designed to insure male domination of their trade. The printers claimed that "woman's purity was most easily preserved in the relative isolation of her home."[23] Horace Greeley suggested that printers could remove women from the shops by marrying them and supporting them. However, he reserved a place in the work force for "single women and those wed to drunken, loafing, good-for-nothing husbands."[24]

An active anti-female labour backlash surfaced in Canada at

the same time. In 1883, the **Trades Union Advocate** reported that a number of Toronto unions were planning to curb female participation in the work force. While supporting in principle a woman's right to work, Eugene Donovan qualified his remarks. He claimed that women had to be suitable for the job and should not work for wages less than those paid to men.[25] Nearly a decade later, Toronto radical Phillips Thompson wrote: "We must express our regret that there is any necessity for a girl or woman to seek employment in so many industries that should find work people only among males. That so many girls are in workshops at labor that boys should be doing is proof that the social system is out of gear."[26] Thompson was convinced that a sexual division of labour was both legitimate and necessary. Women had to stay in their own sphere because "such employments compete with men and reduce their wage earning to perhaps as great an extent as the wages of the women amount to."[27]

In 1903, Toronto's **The Toiler** stated: "Steadily the army in skirts is gaining upon the army in trousers until there is scarcely an employment open to man which had not a woman representative somewhere in it competing with man in his own once exclusive field."[28] The newspaper pointed out that in general, female industrial workers adjusted relatively easily to factory life because they treated it as temporary.[29] The **Toiler** blamed this "temporary attitude" for a number of family traumas which contributed to the demeaning of men and the working-class home.[30]

The prairie newspaper **Saskatchewan Labor's Realm** demanded that government regulate the involvement of women and children in the

labour force. Like the Victorian labour journalists, editor Hugh Peat believed that industrialists only hired women and children out of economic considerations. Peat maintained that "It is up to organized society to take a hand and fix 'the rules of the game.' Conditions for the employment of women and children must be determined and enforced by the state. Otherwise society is at the mercy of a demand for cheapness that sacrifices the future of the race."[31]

It was the future of the race that concerned the editors of Moncton's **Eastern Labor News.** The journal appealed for improved wages and working conditions for female sales personnel in the city's retail shops. The newspaper stated that "the girls who are striving to make their living by clerking or in other lines of labor are the home-makers of the future, the mothers of the next generation, and it is highly important that their health be taken care of."[32]

The non-conformist journalists consistently directed their messages to an exclusively male readership. By supporting improvements in female wages and working conditions, they believed they could convince male workers that they would soon receive loving domestic attention for themselves and their children when their wives left the labour market. They claimed improved wages and working conditions would assist in preserving the physical beauty of young, single females for the marriage market. The use of common male complaints, such as the negative impact of the laws of supply and demand, were linked to humanitarian resolutions for

female distress. Trades union journalists in particular continued to remind male labourers of their obligations to protect members of the "weaker sex."[33]

Few non-conformist journalists advocated unconditional gender equality. Most spoke of gender "equivalence". In this theory, males and females were to perform separate labour and social roles determined by what was perceived to be both biological and emotional differences. A quarter-century after the **Ontario Workman** had ceased publishing, the British Columbia miners' newspaper, the **Sandon Paystreak,** argued that "man and woman are totally different in nature. In man the practical qualities are dominant, while in woman the emotional qualities have the supremacy. Man's virtues are the rugged ones of integrity, truth and justice; woman's are the more spirituelle [sic] virtues of patience, self denial and veneration."[34] "Equivalence" advocates believed that males couldn't experience a full life without being subjected to female virtues. Conversely, women who wanted a rich and happy life could only find it in marriage. "Man and woman form a perfect equation. The factors of the two sides are not the same, but their sums total [sic] are equal. They hold different places in the universe, but places equally important and equally noble".[35]

Equivalence was not equality. It was co-existence. It placed the Victorian female labourer in a virtual sexual apartheid in which her life was governed according to rules developed beyond her control. Even though most of the dissident journalists argued for some form of female emancipation, the **Sandon Paystreak** observed

"this radical change [female wage labour] has not affected the old, universal standards of womanhood which have obtained since the world began."[36] The journal's "universal standards" were commonly-repeated male beliefs which claimed that "beauty is a woman's chief charm."[37]

Whether they advocated equivalence or equal pay for work of equal value or any combination of both positions, the non-conformist journalists did not succeed in driving women from the workplace. In Canada 16.1% of the workforce in 1901 was female. By the First World War it was 18.6%. As participation increased, the nature of female labour changed. In 1901, 23.6% of females in the labour force were in white-collar professions with some, such as teaching and nursing, almost exclusively female.[38] By the First World War, white-collar female labour was 30.5% of the total female labour force.[39]

As the Victorian era came to a close, working-class writers and journalists were forced to deal with increasing female demands for equality within the home, within the workplace and in society at large. The editors began to publish editorials and poems which no longer spoke of female emancipation in terms of its relationship to a male-dominated world. Men were being criticized and analyzed. The sympathetic male was thoughtful, truthful and intelligent. The man opposed to female rights was condemned as either severe or as a drunkard.[40]

The attention paid to female grievances was a small concession on behalf of the editors, most of whom had roots deep into a

Victorian stratified society. Most women rejected their patrimonious attitudes and were prepared to define their own world, with or without male compliance. They were beginning to write with a sense of their own mission. Some questioned Victorian Canada's previously unquestioned social foundations, one of which was marriage.

In condeming Victorian marital institutions, most non-conformist journalists returned to familiar territory. The **Sandon Paystreak**'s objection was founded in its view that the law refused to respect the separate spheres inhabited by males and females. Proclaiming the failure of marriage, the newspaper observed that "it tends to substitute contract for love, as a basis of a sex relationship; because it rests on authority, rather than on reason; because it ignores all natural laws of development, and attempts to force all individuals into the same mould; because it establishes arbitrary and artificial standards of morality; because it is the stronghold of an unhealthy asceticism."[41] The newspaper supported legislation to permit easy divorce. "Divorce is as reasonable and natural as marriage."[42] The journal concluded that marriages were not always happy and, as a result, people should be free to marry as many times as they wished.

However, the old, consistent approaches were beginning to fragment. Some writers, such as Edward H. Cowles, said the choice between marriage and wage slavery allowed the female only the choice of her master. He asked: "Is the recognized form of "marriage" the "joining" by God of two souls as one, or is it

simply and purely a legal, civil contract whereby a man gains the legal right to the possession of a woman's person, and her labors, in exchange for her "keeps?"[43]

The Toronto radical journalist Phillips Thompson believed that marriage would pass away when people no longer needed it. Although he refused to predict a date, Thompson told women to begin working for emancipation within the existing family structure. He advised them to be patient. First, men had to free themselves from their old-fashioned and outdated concepts of male dominance. However, Thompson declared eventually that "free men will want free women. Slave fathers and mothers cannot produce free offspring; hence, the children mistake liberty for license to follow their tyrant passions."[44] Thompson predicted that "the woman of the future will be far less a child-bearer than an intelligent co-operator with man in common work and occupations of humanity."[45] Thompson believed that female emancipation began with equivalence and arrived in equality.

The almost stubborn reluctance to recognize gender equality was based on a rather convoluted vision of emerging class solidarity. Most non-conformist journalists understood that urbanization was straining the family structure in a way that agrarian and small industrial society had not. In the Victorian period, they advocated traditional family models with which they were familiar. In general, most wanted a working-class family headed by a dominant wage-earning male and a domesticated, unpaid female and their children as equivalent but distinct participants.

They believed that this was the only way to partially re-create the organic nature of the agricultural family's moral economy within an urban environment. They were convinced that only this organic family structure could withstand the stress of Victorian laissez-faire capitalism. Their solidarity began to fragment when Thompson questioned the marital institution. As the twentieth century progressed, and as a generation of non-conformist journalists trained in the traditions of the Knights of Labor succumbed to age and intellectual exhaustion, the old solidarity collapsed and women began to assert themselves both in public and in print. Canadian working men were left to wonder "who will rock the cradle?"

> When women's rights have come to stay,
> Oh, who will rock the cradle?
> When wives are at the polls all day,
> Oh, who will rock the cradle?
> When Doctor Mamma's making pills,
> When Merchant Mamma's selling bills,
> Of course, 'twill cure all women's ills,
> But who will rock the cradle?[46]

EXTENDING THE FRANCHISE

By advocating full voting rights for men, non-conformist journalists eventually became comfortable seeking the same for women. However, while their campaigns were designed to win full **political** citizenship for women, they simultaneously conspired to restrict their **industrial** citizenship. At the root of the campaign to extend voting rights was the annoyance that most journalists expressed about income and property requirements for enfranchisment which favoured the well-to-do. They argued that the policy discriminated against working-class Canadians which in turn prevented workers from developing any independent political voice

outside the two traditional parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives.

The issue of female voting rights, no matter how limited, appeared very early in the non-conformist press. In 1872, the **Ontario Workman** supported the resolutions of The Workingmen's Political Party, founded at a convention in London, Ontario that same year. The party's platform called for household suffrage, voting by secret ballot and elimination of property requirements.[47] The resolutions were designed primarily to address male working-class grievances although the new party demanded that all property-owning widows who paid municipal taxes be given the vote. The **Western Workman**, the southwestern Ontario edition of the Toronto newspaper, argued that widows had no choice but to assume male roles when their husbands died. On many occasions this meant entry into a male-dominated labour market as well as the assumption of other traditionally male undertakings.[48] In essence, the newspaper only supported extending the franchise to a woman if she could behave like a man.

In 1884, the Province of Ontario passed "The Married Woman's Property Act" which gave married women the right to control their own property without spousal consent.[49] Ironically, women had no right to choose the legislators who wrote and passed the act. During this decade, many trades union newspapers addressed the question of female suffrage. In 1887, the Nova Scotia miners' editor Robert Drummond published an article in his **Trades Journal** which virtually repeated the position proposed by The Workingmen's

Political Party. With this one exception, Drummond ignored the female suffrage issue as did the fifteen-point political rights programme of the Knights of Labor, published in Hamilton's **Palladium of Labor**[50]. Québec's **L'Ouvrier**, one of the Knights' French-languge journals, while advocating the elimination of women and children from the labour force, recommended extension of the franchise to working-class males only.[51]

The reluctance of late Victorian non-conformist editors to assume the mantle of electoral reform on behalf of both a male and female constituency can be attributed to a significant degree to their well-entrenched conservative attitudes about gender relationships. Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the majority of their writings depicted "the gentler sex" as submissive and polite. Victorian "ladies" did not take to the streets demanding the vote or anything else in fact. The **Ontario Workman**, Canada's first significant non-conformist journal set the tone for editors to follow by conducting a series of vicious attacks on equality-seeking women. The editors, two of whom organized a violent Toronto printers' strike in 1872, charged that the suffragist movement was filled with unsavoury characters who negated legitimate demands in the campaign for household (read: universal male) suffrage. The journal stated that "certain persons have put themselves forward as leaders who not being of good reputation in other relations of life, have only brought obliquy [sic] upon this movement."[52] The newspaper declared that it was not prepared to define the suffrage question as a gender issue.

Early trades union journals in particular treated the demands for franchise extension as primarily a class issue as opposed to a gender issue. Their journalists, who constituted the bulkwark of the non-conformist's public and private movements, resisted the message of the organized suffragist movement because they intensely disliked its middle- and upper-class character. They believed that these women would have little or nothing in common with their working-class sisters, and may even have the capability of turning them into idle, materialist consumers.[53] Part of their reluctance to accept suffragist ideas stemmed from the support most suffragists gave to the prohibition cause which labour journalists, in particular, treated as a middle- and upper-class conspiracy to regulate working-class behaviour.[54]

If working-class women were reluctant to join the suffragist movement, they showed little enthusiasm for establishing their own class-based organizations. Many women activists working in the 1880s identified members of their own gender as among those who resisted franchise extension. Writing in the **Palladium of Labor**, feminist Dawn Pyatt stated that "if a majority of our women were to demand the right of suffrage, they would be voting in ninety days."[55] Pyatt believed that the majority of women lacked a feminist consciousness, which contributed to their oppression. With the exception of the temperance movement, women were submissive to the point that they were "the millstone about the neck of labour."[56] Pyatt suggested that women should explore freedom by changing their habits, such as excessive child-bearing

and tight-fitting clothing, which Pyatt believed symbolized female attempts to please male dominators.

Pyatt's editor W. H. Rowe was virtually isolated in the 1880s when he supported the feminist position on suffrage extension which he regarded as fundamental for the class education of working-class women. On Saturday June 6, 1885 he wrote:

> If the mass of womenkind had their right of franchise it would tend to make them more intelligent, to accustom them to association and combination, and though it might not bring about any change in the character of heartless female employers, it would bring about a very material alteration for the better in the character of those suffering from injustice, and teach them to protect themselves.[57]

It was Phillips Thompson's **Labor Advocate**, a journal sponsored by the Toronto Knights of Labor Assemblies, which shifted the extension of the franchise debate from an class issue to a gender issue. In 1891, Thompson wrote in praise of the American Federation of Labor for endorsing a female rights resolution at its Detroit convention. He claimed that the established political classes had failed to respect women's rights. Thompson advised his female readers to join trades unions where they had a chance for full, social participation. He was convinced that all unions would come to support female demands for the right to vote. He observed that "we may hope soon to see the old barbaric idea that woman is inferior to man abolished."[58]

During the early 1890s, Thompson was not alone in calling for enfranchisement equality. Female enfranchisement became a central plank in an emerging farm protest movement led by the Western

Canadian-based Patrons of Industry. In 1896, their newspaper, **Western Patrons Advocate**, declared that "no distinction in citizenship should be made on account of sex and we believe the franchise should be extended to women on the same terms as men."[59] From this point, the trades unions, key players in dissident movements in Canada, lagged behind their agricultural colleagues on the question. Women took hope in an 1898 resolution by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council which advocated female enfranchisement for the next municipal election.[60] The message did not reach other unionists. The 1899 National Trades and Labour Congress convention in Montréal passed a sixteen-point political programme which failed to address female voting rights. However, the unionists resolved that women should be banned from all forms of industrial labour.[61]

The campaign for female enfranchisement gathered momentum after the turn of the century. In 1900, R. Parmeter Pettipiece, writing in his first non-conformist journal, the **Lardeau Eagle**, expressed his support for "equal rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women."[62] However, Pettipiece also declared that "female labor in all branches of industrial life, such as mines, workshops and factories" needed to be legislated out of existence.[63] In 1902, the Socialist Party of Manitoba demanded that "all organizers or administrators ... be elected by equal direct adult suffrage."[64] The party wanted "equal civil and political rights to men and women."[65] It called for the abolition of all financial and property qualifications for both

candidates and voters in all levels of elections.[66] The same year, the delegates who founded the Labormen's Council of British Columbia at Kamloops declared that "the franchise be extended to women."[67] Both organizations ignored the second-class citizenship of women in the workplace.

In 1902 the new British Columbia Provincial Progressive Party, which included a large trades union faction, called for "the extension of the franchise to women"[68] in its political platform. The policy, eventually adopted by nearly every union, labour party and labour newspaper after 1900 was combined with an appeal for the abolition of female industrial labour. The Canadian Labor Party platform, written in 1907 in Toronto, contained both planks.[69]

When the non-conformist journalists simultaneously advocated extending female political rights and eliminating female industrial labour, they seemed to be trapped in an unresolvable paradox. Nonetheless, they were treading on old familiar grounds where they treated male-female social, political and economic relationships as equivalent but not equal. They regarded the possibility of female enfranchisement as potentially harmless to working class aspirations since it did not have an economic dimension. They could not extend the same argument to female industrial labour. Most non-conformist journalists believed that extending the franchise posed a serious threat only to the political solidarity of the dominant elites. They predicted an age when males and females would combine in a new working-class voting bloc twice its previous size which would support their class- not upper and middle

class political platforms. Extension of the franchise, regardless of gender considerations, was critical to working-class hopes and dreams and never a threat to them.

As noted, the issue of female industrial labour assumed the opposite hue. The non-conformist journalists were convinced that by working for small wages, female labourers undermined their family's financial security by threatening the male breadwinner's earning power. They believed that women were "de-feminized" by industrial labour and men were "emasculated" when their wives and daughters were forced to go to work. Trades union journalists in particular wanted women to threaten a class-dominated political system but not a male-dominated family structure.

There were many columnists who advocated the idea that female enfranchisement would require women to surrender traditional Victorian gender privileges because they would be expected to act like men, accepting both the positive and negative aspects of male life. Writing as the "Bystander" in the **Canada Farmers' Sun**, Toronto intellectual gadfly Goldwin Smith warned of the serious social price for female enfranchisement. Smith declared: "What is certain is that the New Woman cannot run two sexes at once. If she is to be the rival and competitor of the man, she will have to give us her claim to his protection and forebearance. She will have to renounce privilege if she demands equality."[70]

Smith's position represented an extremist view even in non-conformist journalism. Quietly dodging the thorny issue of female industrial labour, Toronto Christian Socialist editor George

Wrigley, writing in his **Citizen and Country**, spoke for the mainstream argument in early twentieth-century non-conformist journalism. Wrigley argued that "a woman has as much right to make the laws that govern her. A man who has never owned more than a week's wages is as much entitled to vote as a millionaire."[71] His position was supported by Winnipeg editor Arthur Puttee of **The Voice**. Puttee, who had represented Winnipeg in the federal parliament, noted that "one feature of democratic government is that representation should follow taxation, that every person paying taxes, directly or indirectly, should have a vote in the election of the legislators entrusted with the spending of such taxes."[72]

Three years later, R. Parmeter Pettipiece blamed male apprehension for the reluctance of British Columbia legislators to support Socialist M.L.A. J. A. Hawthornthwaite's private members bill to extend the franchise to women. Writing in the **Western Clarion,** Pettipiece observed it was the "fear it might lead to the awful consequence of relegating themselves (male politicians) and the interest they serve to that oblivion to which similar bats, owls and vultures innumerable have gone before."[73] In 1909, Toronto's **The Lance** asked men to reflect on the social structure they built before denying women the right to vote. The newspaper noted that "the male mind has nay peculiar genius for government, and women, when they exercise the franchise, will do ill indeed if they make a much worse mess of it than we have done."[74]

CONCLUSION

The rise of gender issues between 1870 and 1910 can be linked with the transition from a male-dominated household to a male-dominated factory system. Female demands for equality forced structural changes in both family and industrial life which labour journalists only partially addressed. Throughout the late years of the nineteenth century, non-conformist journalists of virtually every political stripe attempted to convince the Canadian working class that its family should be dominated by a male wage-earner obliged to provide for his spouse and children. Eventually, the uncertain tenures of male employment, aggravated by marginal wage rates, forced them to concede the necessity of female wage labour. Consequently, they attempted to address male and female grievances within a common working-class perspective, while clinging to the belief that women had no place in the industrial workplace. Campaigns, such as the Knights of Labor's "equal pay for work of equal value", were designed to price women out of the labour force. The journalists believed that this would significantly re-inforce an organic family structure, reduce the labour supply which in turn would strengthen the male unionists' bargaining position.

The growth of female labour eventually forced the trades unionists, farm reformers and socialists and ruling elites to deal with their demands. Although much of the credit for extension of the franchise has been given to middle- and upper-class women, one cannot ignore the contribution of working-class journalists of both genders. After some prodding, women eventually both formed and

joined the trades unions who fought for universal suffrage. Female unionists actively campaigned for extension of the school year. They demanded and obtained restrictions on child labour. Their entry into the work place, voluntary or otherwise, provided women with the opportunity for collective action which precipitated demands for female equality well into contemporary times.

"Connubial Bliss"

Oh! we'll all see better days,
When the ladies vote;
We will walk in wisdom's ways,
When the women vote,
All kinds of trades will hum,
And the happy time will come-
The grand millennium-
When the ladies vote![75]

ENDNOTES

1. Bryan D. Palmer Working Class Experience (Toronto and Vancouver: Butterworth and Company, 1983), p. 134

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3. Toronto (Ontario) Ontario Workman, January 30, 1873

4. Toronto (Ontario) Ontario Workman, December 19, 1872

5. Toronto (Ontario) Ontario Workman, May 16, 1872

6. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, July 17, 1884

7. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, July 17, 1884

8. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, July 17, 1884

9. Victoria (British Columbia) Industrial News, December 11, 1886

10. London (Ontario) Industrial Banner, February 1903. Editor Joseph T. Marks wrote: "It is a question of vital importance to the working class. In the past, it is true that the school girls were taught how many feet were contained in a certain sized pile of wood, but many of these same girls could not tell how to make a stew or cook a bun. It is a fact that a large majority of the girls working in local factories do not understand the first principle of cookery or housekeeping, and many of these girls will be the future wives of workingmen and the mothers of their children. The Public and Separate school girls should be taught domestic science."

11. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, November 22, 1901

12. Toronto (Ontario) The Toiler, May 16, 1902

13. Toronto (Ontario) The Toiler, May 16, 1902

14. Vancouver (British Columbia) Western Clarion, November 4, 1905

15. Vancouver (British Columbia) Western Clarion, August 13, 1904

16. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, June 21, 1884

17. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, June 21, 1884

18. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, June 6, 1885

19. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, January 26, 1884

20. One example was published in the farm journal, the Canadian Co-operator, Volume 1, No. 8, Owen Sound, Ontario, April 1882. It stated: "Another matter to which we would draw attention is that feeling so prevalent that when well qualified to fill positions hitherto occupied by men, women are expected at greatly reduced salaries, this, we think, inflicts much injustice and should be in every way discouraged."

21. Toronto (Ontario) Trades Union Advocate, October 12, 1882

22. Toronto (Ontario) Trades Union Advocate, October 12, 1882

23. Mary Biggs, "Neither Printer's Wife Nor Widow: American Women in Typesetting, 1830-1950" Library Quarterly 50, (4), 1980, p. 433

24. Biggs, p. 433

25. Toronto (Ontario) Trades Union Advocate, March 8, 1883

26. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, January 2, 1891

27. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, January 2, 1891

28. Toronto (Ontario) The Toiler, August 21, 1903

29. Herbert G. Gutman Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 26-27

30. The newspaper observed: "The industrial energy of women is constantly depleted by marriage. Women's aim in industry is not a livelihood, as a rule, and she works as a makeshift pending marriage; hence she not only enters into competition with men, displacing them and lowering the value of labor, but she withdraws an indispensable force from household production, and thus increases the cost of living." Toronto (Ontario) The Toiler, July 8, 1904

31. Regina (Saskatchewan) Saskatchewan Labor's Realm, July 2, 1909

32. Moncton (New Brunswick) Eastern Labor News, Saturday July 24, 1909

33. Toronto (Ontario) Trades Union Advocate, June 15, 1882

34. Sandon and Cody (British Columbia) Sandon Paystreak, April 10, 1897

35. Sandon and Cody (British Columbia) Sandon Paystreak, April 10, 1897

36. Sandon and Cody (British Columbia) Sandon Paystreak, February 20, 1897

37. Sandon and Cody (British Columbia) Sandon Paystreak, February 20, 1897

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39. Sylvia Ostry and Mahmood Zaidi Labour Economics in Canada (2nd edition) (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), pp. 25, 88-89

40. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, January 9, 1891

41. Sandon (British Columbia) Sandon Paystreak, March 1, 1902

42. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, July 17, 1891

43. Vancouver (British Columbia) The Independent, May 30, 1903

44. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, February 27, 1891

45. Vancouver (British Columbia) BC Trades Unionist and Label Bulletin, February 1908

46. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, November 12, 1909

47. Toronto (Ontario) Ontario Workman, May 23, 1872

48. Reprinted in the Toronto (Ontario) Ontario Workman, Thursday July 11, 1872

49. Ontario Bureau of Industries, Report, 1886, p. 60

50. Stellarton (Nova Scotia) The Trades Journal, February 2, 1887. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, August 2, 1884

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53. Carol Lee Bacchi Liberation Deferred, The Ideas of The English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 7, 117

54. Bacchi, p. 121

55. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, June 13, 1885

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57. Hamilton (Ontario) Palladium of Labor, June 6, 1885

58. Toronto (Ontario) Labor Advocate, January 23, 1891

59. Portage La Prairie (Manitoba) Western Patrons Advocate, March 18, 1896

60. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, November 18, 1898

61. Toronto (Ontario) Citizen and Country, September 21, 1900

62. Ferguson (British Columbia) Lardeau Eagle, April 25, 1900

63. Ferguson (British Columbia) Lardeau Eagle, September 19, 1900

64. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, November 14, 1902

65. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, November 14, 1902

66. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, November 14, 1902

67. Ferguson (British Columbia) Lardeau Eagle, April 24, 1902

68. Sandon (British Columbia) Sandon Paystreak, April 19, 1902

69. Regina (Saskatchewan) Saskatchewan Labor's Realm, July 26, 1907

70. Toronto (Ontario) Canada Farmers' Sun, July 8, 1897

71. Toronto (Ontario) Citizen and Country, April 13, 1900

72. Winnipeg (Manitoba) The Voice, May 29, 1903

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THE NEWSPAPER AS SOCIAL COMPOSER OF THE NORTH IDAHO MINING FRONTIER

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THE NEWSPAPER AS SOCIAL COMPOSER OF THE NORTH IDAHO MINING FRONTIER

Aaron F. Parker entered Eagle City, Idaho Territory on a blustery October day in 1883. He traveled four days from Lewiston, Idaho, to reach this fabled valley of the Coeur d'Alenes where bright nuggets lit hillsides and fortunes rushed down gold-tinted streams; where riches came to an outstretched palm. For four days he fought poor weather, wrestled ornery mules, and vanquished sodden, overgrown terrain. Beaten, worn, exhausted, Parker trod down muddy Eagle street and smiled at the tents, lean-tos, and rough log buildings. Looking for gold, he found its last bonanza.

Parker staked the first claim on the Old Channel Wash, a valued mining location extending over twenty miles from above Eagle City then down Eagle Creek to the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River.[1] But Parker also staked his claim with lead type. He planned to mine the district's thirst for information by producing its first newspaper, the Idaho Pan-Handle.[2] This gold lay in subscriptions, advertising, job printing, and civic influence.

Only competition and events stood in Parker's way. For when Parker arrived in North Idaho he joined a wide-open, socially-based pioneer society of equal opportunity. A society where virgin country meant virgin prospects. But as treasure proved difficult to gain, a more complex economic society emerged that began to eliminate competitors and limit individual opportunities.

This study proposes that Parker and his fellow pioneer editors recognized those economic harbingers so targeted a select

audience of potential wage workers and capital developers to assure the regional economic success that would support their print shops -- a premeditated decision that influenced the composition of Coeur d'Alene society. The study examines the role of 1884 Eagle City, Idaho, newspapers as agents of social change by 1) discussing the socio-economic, political, and labor catalysts that created then began to transform that society from transient pioneer to permanent industrial[3] and, 2) by determining through inference from newspaper content whether, how, and to what effect these catalysts in turn influenced the newspapers' journalistic agendas and community roles. The first of a four part investigation, it also establishes a base line for measuring the evolution of Coeur d'Alene journalism.

Literature

Knight postulates that mining frontier newspapers were indeed a catalyst for social change; that regardless of editor motives, newspapers accelerated the transformation of an unorganized, "chance assemblage" of transient frontier individualists into a permanent, cohesive, stable community.[4] Similarly, Halaas concludes that the overriding tasks of earlier Rocky Mountain mining camp editors were to aid in bringing order and permanency to the camps and to encourage economic, social, and political institutions that would make future growth possible.[5]

But while Knight and Halaas discuss general characteristics applicable to Eagle City newspapers, they only imply the

social significance of settlers the mining camp editors tried to attract.[6] Eagle City editors made this the crux of their social agency. They realized immigration decided the vital social composition that could assure, or sabotage, the permanency of their mining camp. This social comprehension came from understanding the economic realities of the Coeur d'Alenes, which began and ended with Coeur d'Alene geography and how that geography protected its mineral treasure.

Prospectors used two mining techniques in the Coeur d'Alenes: placer and lode. A placer claim or location signifies that a metal like gold is contained in the soil. Placer miners move and work the soil with water. One miner can often hand work a placer with simple tools and little capital. A lode is when metal is contained in rock, and usually requires tunnelling, blasting, complex technical organization, and considerable capital investment to turn a profit.

Prospectors founded the Coeur d'Alenes as a gold placer camp but by summer, 1884, experienced placer miners realized that the ground was generally too deep for poor men to work -- up to twenty feet of gravel could cover the gold. The area surrounding the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River enjoyed three years of flush production from 1883 to 1885, then, like most placer camps, its gold production dropped by half.[7] But as gold disappeared, silver and lead rose from quartz outcroppings as beacons of underground wealth.[8] An expensive wealth, however -- a single miner

could not make it pay. The ore demanded respect and gave itself only to those who could meet its price in capital and labor, which eventually divided Coeur d'Alene society along those lines.[9]

Eagle City newspapers helped begin that divisive process. "As the camp news gatherers [editors] had access to the latest progress in the mines and were privy to the secrets of real estate developers and business leaders."[10] Eagle City editors knew the type of claims present and understood the mining techniques necessary to recover the ore. Such knowledge revealed their journalistic agenda: encourage capitalist developers and laborers; discourage gold rush dreams of individual success.

The Press Arrives

Eagle City was a magic word in 1883-1884, the first town of our nation's last gold rush. It sprouted at the junction of Eagle and Prichard Creeks, where Andrew J. Prichard's party discovered the first paying gold placers in 1882. Named for eagles that nested nearby, Eagle City was the first destination in what became North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district.[11]

Publicity built Eagle City. Prichard himself spread word to his friends while a Spokane Falls Review issue recounting Prichard's find sold throughout the west and as far east as Minnesota.[12] Meanwhile, the Northern Pacific Railway, which owned nearly 2,000,000 acres of North Idaho land and whose newly completed line passed within 35 miles of the district, saw the Coeur d'Alene mining excitement as a chance to secure patronage,

induce settlement, and carry freight.[13] The NP released a series of circulars, reprinted in many regional newspapers, extolling and exaggerating the "rich mineral wealth of the Coeur d'Alene mountains...[where t]here is more than enough for all who come."[14]

They came by the thousands.[15] Prospectors, businessmen, laborers, gamblers, prostitutes, teenage boys, old '49ers came to claim their fortune, even if "[o]ne man will come and get rich, [and] the ninty [sic] and nine will go home penniless."[16] By the summer of 1884 upwards of 5,000 stampeders were in the Coeur d'Alene Mountains.[17] Eagle City alone housed 2,000 people.[18]

Real estate agents reaped the first fortune. They laid out town lots for three quarters of a mile along the valleys of both Prichard and Eagle Creeks.[19] Such lots brought from $200 to $2,000 and "for one or two business houses offers of $10,000 were refused."[20] One 20x35 foot, two story house cost $1200 to build and $300 a month to rent. A similar house garnered $400 in rent.[21]

Commerce followed quickly. General stores, liquor stores, drug stores, saloons, restaurants, banks, lodging houses, barber shops, laundries, saw-mills, cobblers, physicians, attorneys, engineers "and a score of other enterprises [were] either established or on the way" by March, 1884.[22] In just one week of March, twenty new businesses opened in Eagle City.[23]

The town was ripe with possible advertisers and subscribers, an enticement that drew a number of printer entrepreneurs. But competition to publish the first local newspaper was less a

race between printers as it was a battle against Coeur d'Alene weather and geography.

Aaron Parker intended to start the Idaho Pan-Handle by January, 1884, but deep snows and bitter weather had isolated the Coeur d'Alenes.[24] Regardless, no freight road yet existed that could handle a printing press. When the snow melted in February, transportation upgraded from toboggan to pack-mule trains slogging through muddy, rutted trails. In March, 1884, engineers cut a wagon road through the forest from Thompson Falls, Montana, to the foot of the Bitterroot Mountains, but it was still pack train over the pass to Eagle City. Other Northern Pacific stations like Rathdrum, Idaho, Spokane Falls, Washington, and Belknap, Montana, used combinations of stage, steamboat, pole-boat, saddle horse, and pack mule train to offer competing routes to the mines.[25]

Enterprising editors, anxious to strike Coeur d'Alene readers, circumvented the weather and transport by printing newspapers elsewhere and packing them to Eagle City.[26] Only one of these imports relocated to the mining district.

C. F. McGlashan and W. F. Edwards wrote and edited the first four issues of their four-page, five-column Coeur d'Alene Nugget in Eagle City then hired "fleet-footed men to carry the items to the railroad and bring back the papers" from a Spokane Falls print shop.[27] Their ambition was "a first class local newspapers [sic]...authentic and reliable...."[28] Their aim, however, soon refocused on getting their press to Eagle City, for

authenticity, they found, lay in home town printing:

> Write every word in Eagle, write up all local news... the fact that the printing was done outside, makes a vast difference.... Rival editors were the first to raise the hue and cry that we printed outside.[29]

Parker was one of those loud rivals. After all, the Nugget had claimed in its first issue, an issue printed in Spokane Falls, that the "expense and difficulty of placing material and printing presses in Eagle City at this season of the year is a sufficient guaranty of our earnestness...."[30] By April, Parker had established himself as postmaster of Eagle City and, making use of this best available transportation, made arrangements for his own printing press to be packed into town.[31] His plans for first newspaper in the district thwarted, Parker's hopes now rested on being first to print in the Coeur d'Alenes. He and partner George W. DeSucca missed by three days.[32]

In bold, all-cap, six-point type, McGlashan and Edwards announced "THE FIRST PAPER" -- a six-page, four-column edition -- on April 9, 1884:

> There, now. It's accomplished at last. The pioneer paper has been printed in the Coeur d'Alene mines. The NUGGET is the original, and only first paper. The genuine and only pioneer. We have kept our word, redeemed our pledge.

Ballyhoo the Bonanza

McGlashan and Edwards staked their own economic future on building a community that would return their investment through advertising, subscription, and job printing.[33] Since spring, 1884, christened a number of new Eagle City businesses, the Nugget

filled its pages with advertising, which simultaneously provided revenue and evidenced the community's enterprising spirit.[34] But three ingredients to long-term prosperity still avoided the Coeur d'Alene district: 1) Experienced miners who would make the claims pay. Many of the stampeders were Pacific Northwest farmers looking for quick riches during their winter lay off. They and others whose business was not mining held rich ground they worked only a few weeks each year; 2) Economical transportation to open the region and stimulate development by attracting; 3) Capital investment that could exploit the silver-lead galena ore through underground lode mining.[35]

Though few copies of the Nugget survive, McGlashan and Edwards' journalistic agenda was clear: boost the Coeur d'Alene bonanza; attract investors to finance development and permanent laborers to fulfill it.[36] Their personal bonanza would then materialize through a permanent settlement of readers, advertisers, and job printing.

The Nugget's creed became "faith in the diggings, its politics the prosperity of the Coeur d'Alene."[37] The editors enacted this booster creed by targeting an audience outside the district and dedicating the Nugget almost exclusively to explaining the region: its terrain, trails, camps, populace, social events, number/cost of buildings, food/equipment prices, living expenses, businesses (with text ads extolling them), and the progress of its mines.

To this end, McGlashan and Edwards proclaimed that "'All roads lead to Rome,' and all trails to the Coeur d'Alene," in the first sentence of their first lead story entitled "HOW TO GET HERE."[38] They then explained the seven existing and planned routes into the mining district.[39] That same front page also reprinted Northern Pacific Railway's Circular No. 6, which encouraged pilgrimage to "the most fabulous quartz and placers ever discovered" and set the Nugget's pattern for enticing those pilgrims -- the promise of wealth:

> This week settles the fact that Eagle Creek is as rich as the most sanguine have predicted.... Discoveries are reported daily that are too fabulous for belief.... The richness of the placers is universally acknowledged.... Hundreds of men have flocked thither to witness the very unusual spectacle of men picking gold from the earth instead of washing it out in a pan."[40]

To assure a flow of pilgrims, the editors were quick to discount reports that the Coeur d'Alene country was impenetrable:

> Every description of the Coeur d'Alene mountains which we have yet seen, describes them as rugged, jagged, precipitous, bristling or horrid.... Now the fact is that the mountains in the mines are low and comparatively free from rocky precipices and inaccessible places.... All the different routes...are over comparatively smooth roads, if one takes the Sierra Nevada as the standard.[41]

And to verify this access, McGlashan and Edwards explained "HOW TO BRING IN GOODS," including routes, freight rates, methods of transportation, and a caution that storms "are not likely to effect serious blockades" -- a report that contradicted the recent winter.[42] The editors, in fact, frequently defended the climate. They decried cold weather reports as "ridiculously exaggerated,"

citing "accurate thermometrical records" that showed "the lowest temperature ever reached was 22 [degrees] below zero, and this only one morning. Generally the climate is not at all severe."[43]

Courting investors, the Nugget also printed glowing reports of new towns and camps the mineral wealth created. Eagle City, for instance, the "metropolis of the Coeur d'Alene needs no word of praise":

> Beautifully located, peopled with men of energy and enterprise, and offering superior inducements to capital, she has burst into a city in a day.... and the strangest part of all is that her present growth is not even an intimation of that to come.
>
> [And] aside from the Coeur d'Alene, we know of no city west of the Rocky mountains that offers such superior inducements to business men and capitalists as Spokane Falls."[44]

Meanwhile, Mission City's location made it the safest investment because it was the "key to the Coeur d'Alene Valley": it opened to mineral wealth on one side and agricultural wealth on the other, while all western routes to the mines converged on it. Butte City had a number of business houses going up "and the camp is booming." Forward thinking citizens even reserved a block for a court house and school, indicators of permanency.[45] Raven City was "bound to become a prominent point" because it sat directly on the proposed road from Montana. And "one of the most beautiful and romantic" sites imaginable was the "new and enterprising town" of Murraysville, which, considering its location in the heart of the mines, promised to employ thousands of miners.[46]

The labor field, however, extended beyond mining, extending, in turn, the district's economic base. With, for instance, an estimated 1,000 buildings under construction in the district, McGlashan and Edwards claimed that "[e]very man who will work finds ready employment at from $5.00 to $8.00 per day."[47] Other opportunities arose in logging and sawmill operations that supplied the building materials.

To entice law-abiding immigrants and ease the fears of conservative capitalists, the editors also claimed the district was "A Peaceful Camp." That although "there are probably 3,000 people in the mines, there has been no affrays no serious fights." The Justice of the Peace, in fact, "has never had a case, either civil or criminal." Peaceful enticements may have been challenged when the Nugget then reported that several disputes over town and mineral property "have nearly terminated in a shot-gun war, and on more than one occasion weapons have been drawn and flourished."[48]

As a booster, the Nugget was quick to defend the district. In a scathing editorial it railed against journalists of other Idaho mining camps who "are enjoying themselves greatly in running down the Coeur d'Alene mines." The Nugget believed these primarily South Idaho editors were "working most zealously to injure the [Coeur d'Alene] district" for political reasons, that they were inside the "ring" controlling Idaho politics and that they now feared the influx of stampeders who could "break the rings and run things to suit themselves." The Nugget despised the "narrowminded

newspaper men" who attempted "to sacrifice the Territory to subserve their individual interests," for Idaho, it believed, would only benefit by the development of the Coeur d'Alene mines.[49] Idaho geography and expanse contributed to this infighting. North Idaho is so physically distant from its southern capital that political argument between north and south continues to this day.

But if a booster newspaper, the Coeur d'Alene Nugget often contradicted its mission. McGlashan and Edwards at times displayed a balanced approach to reporting that booster editors seldom considered, a balance that reflected an "objective" journalistic standard that emerged from Civil War reporting and was only then (1884) taking hold at east coast metropolitan newspapers:[50]

> It is neither our object nor intention to mislead our readers, nor to exaggerate the richness of the mines in order to cause a 'rush' to the diggings. The rush is already coming.... We shall therefore content ourself with stating facts exactly as they appear to us, and with giving fair, uncolored views of the region, its resources and development.[51]

The editors enacted this ideal by printing both positive and negative perspectives on the Coeur d'Alene gold rush, as when considering the validity of local mineral wealth:

> Already a number of men have publicly stated that the mines are a fraud.... [yet] old miners...express themselves as perfectly satisfied with the indications.... Even should the mines turn out to be the richest yet worked there is bound to be more disappointed men than successful ones.[52]

Similarly, after reprinting a Northern Pacific Railway circular, the editors added a disclaimer: "It is a bigger story than we can tell, but we shall be glad to find that it is not a

roseate view. We hope Mr. Fee knows whereof he writes."[53] They also took a neutral tack:

> It is impossible at the present time to give much authentic information relative to the richness of the placer diggings.[54]

Many stories actually discouraged immigration. More accurately, McGlashan and Edwards desired a selective immigration. Unlike earlier frontiers, Eagle City editors did not have to "call into being the very population it aimed to serve."[55] It already existed. Business, for example, preceded newspapers into the Coeur d'Alenes and when the Nugget arrived there was not much room left for entrepreneurs. Strong competition met every business enterprise. The Nugget was wary of overloading the district's resources:

> If one hopes to become established in any business first, the time has already passed.... To be first in anything is to make money, but it would be difficult to get any enterprise on the ground without finding a competitor.[56]

Perhaps McGlashan and Edwards were also warning off possible newspaper rivals, for few mining camps could financially support more than one newspaper. Competition often meant business death.[57]

The editors also cautioned people to reconsider a decision to join the Coeur d'Alene stampede:

> ...if you have some capital and are willing to take chances come at once.... but if you have a good business, and are not so seriously afflicted with the gold fever that you cannot attend to business, stay at home. One man will come and get rich, the ninty [sic] and nine will go home penniless.[58]

And as if in warning to those contemplating a trip to the Coeur d'Alenes, McGlashan and Edwards reported "The Motley Throng to be Seen on Our Streets," including the "Angel of Death":

> Under the hillside snow lie four of the boys, who came eager and thirsting, little dreaming that their bodies evermore would rest among the gold dust they came to find.[59]

Economics also impacted McGlashan and Edwards' booster mission, which, by definition, they directed to an outside audience. Yet operating revenue depended on local advertisers, local subscribers, and local job printing. As in earlier mining boom towns, Coeur d'Alene frontier readers were seldom settlers, they were primarily transient miners interested in mining news. That meant editors needed to emphasize local issues that directly affected their readers.[60] McGlashan and Edwards delivered by stressing mining activities -- claim locations and their worth, success, or failure. But they also filled their columns with news stories and news brief "NUGGETS," "CROPPINGS," and "LOCAL ITEMS" concerning personal, civic, business, and even social events. This local emphasis portrayed an image of permanency, activity, and sense of community to Coeur d'Alene readers, which reinforced their decision to immigrate.

A story entitled "Eagle City Theatre," for instance, announced that the "Barnum of the West," J. McDaniels put up a 30 by 120 foot entertainment house "to give a performance every night....[with] the best talent" already engaged.[61] They also reported the Coeur d'Alene's "First Wedding," first religious

service, death of a pioneer, and a wrestling match "for two hundred dollars and the gate money."[62]

Civic news included election reports, often for Deputy Mineral Recorders, legal notices like patent applications for mining claims, and miners' meetings that decided Coeur d'Alene mining laws. These district laws were a significant step toward establishing civil and governmental procedure in the Coeur d'Alenes, for they provided legal precedence in a country where violence and force often decided disputes. Between April and July, 1884, for instance, three arguments ended in murder.[63]

McGlashan and Edwards often relayed district economic concerns through transportation stories, for financial success equaled accessibility to supply facilities and outside markets. Transportation-related issues also carried political concerns regarding territorial or national funding and right of way battles. Examples include updates on numerous proposed toll roads, a continued push for a railroad branch from Thompson's Falls, Montana, and announcement and promotion of the lake steamer "Coeur d'Alene," which eventually reached up the Coeur d'Alene River's North Fork within 14 miles of Eagle City.

The Nugget reciprocated local business support through constant text promotions. Easily half the one or two paragraph news "NUGGETS" and "CROPPINGS" praised local vendors. Freely mixed with reports of visitors, construction accidents, assay reports, illnesses, and mining law clarifications are puffs for

hotels, restaurants, sign painters, general stores, saloons, and liquor stores. Sometimes news and ad successfully blurred:

> D. McIntosh, the well-known contractor and builder is putting up a building 10x50 feet and two stories high. It will be one of the first frame buildings commenced. It is the intention of Mr. McIntosh to put in a large stock of sash, doors, glass, etc., as soon as freight can be got up the river.[64]

McGlashan and Edwards, finally, were realists. They did not "overestimate the value of being first, unless [they could] edit a better paper than [their] contemporaries, the prestige of being the pioneer will not furnish a very substantial basis for claiming public patronage."[65] Their concern proved prescient, for within two months, the Coeur d' Alene Nugget folded and Aaron Parker, the first to dream of a Coeur d'Alene newspaper, absorbed the Nugget into his Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle.[66]

From the few surviving copies, it is clear Parker reported more local events than McGlashan and Edwards. One reason may lie in the fact that in April, 1884, county commissioners declared their postmaster's Eagle the "official Newspaper [sic] of shoshone county."[67] This provided Parker an important subsidy.[68] He not only print[ed] "all blanks required for the use of the county," but published in the Eagle itself paid county announcements and legal notices, as well as claim patents, court proceedings, court cases, and district laws/ordinances.[69]

Local news, of course, involved more than county business and Parker filled out his four page, four column Eagle with "NEWS OF THE WEEK Sorted, Sifted and Sent Out to be Scrutinized by

Seekers of Facts" or "Eagle 'Eye'tems Discovered by the Eagle in its Flight from the Sluice Boxes to the Eyrie Among the Quartz Croppings," which included mining news, business news, civic updates, crime reports, deaths, and personal comings/goings.[70]

These local news columns were similar to the Nugget in that a great amount of "news 'Eye'tems" were actually text advertisements promoting local and district business establishments. A grand jury report, for example, was quickly followed by "Thirty thousand dollars worth of general merchandise for purchasers to select from at Eckert & Wardner's."[71] Such reports perhaps impressed potential immigrants and investors as much as locals.

The Eagle included more out-of-district news, usually political, than did McGlashan and Edwards' Nugget. It reported the national story, for instance, that anti-monopolists and greenbackers nominated Massachusetts' General Benjamin E. Butler for the democratic presidential candidate, although, Parker editorialized, "he is more of a republican than a democrat." In a follow up, Parker regretted that he had no telegraphic summary of the National Democratic Convention in Chicago for with Butler's nomination, the "chances are favorable that the convention will break up in a row." This editorial fell under a "NEWS OF THE WEEK" heading. Parker also exhibited territorial concerns, reporting on the republican convention at Boise City to select a U. S. Congressional candidate.[72]

But even with this news emphasis, the Weekly Eagle was first a booster newspaper, although it showed an early reluctance:

> ...utmost confidence is expressed in the outcome of the camp; that we have the mineral here to make the biggest camp in America and that the business men are conservative enough not to be guilty of exaggerating the mineral wealth of our placer fields and quartz ledges in order to encourage a wild stampede. On all hands there is a general disposition to tell the truth, to let the camp sustain itself and to await developments on the more promising quartz prospects before booming the camp.[73]

This reluctance to "boom" the camp can be traced back to a business trip Parker made to Portland, Oregon, in February, 1884, where the Oregonian interviewed Parker "knowing that he had spent four months in the mines and was well qualified to form a correct opinion of the resources."[74] At this point no one knew the extent of Coeur d'Alene mineral wealth. Although "[u]ndeniably rich surface prospects [had] been discovered," winter set in before prospectors could ascertain its quality.[75] This uncertainty perhaps balanced Parker's reporting for he cautiously down-played the idea of "bonanza" until it was proven:

> A great deal of very unnecessary exaggeration has been told about the richness of the placer diggings and of the amount of gold already taken out, but a careful estimate of the total production of gold so far will not exceed $20,000.[76]

And the bulk of this, he continued, came from just three claims.

When spring broke, however, and prospects improved, reluctance wore off and the Eagle began to elevate its prose, describing the Coeur d'Alene as "the most inviting field for prospectors on the American continent. Our mountain ranges have thus far not been more than scratched over."[77] Prospectors, however, were not the Eagle's primary focus. Parker and DeSucca

were looking for experienced mining capital to invest in and develop the district. They believed "their" mountains were "full of silver and gold, and capital is the key by which alone they can be unlocked."[78] And the Eagle vigorously pursued that key:

> The period of exaggeration has gone by. If the truth had been told from the start there would have been a larger influx of capital seeking investment, and more purchases of claims would have been effected.... truth always pays.
>
> There are many good prospects for sale.... we know whereof we speak, and we advise those who desire investments to examine. When these prospects pass into the hands of men with money and energy, we shall have many good mines, providing these men have some knowledge of the business of mining, and do not expect to get a fortune for nothing.[79]

Parker and DeSucca's argument, however, could get a bit contradictory:

> For those who have the 'sand' to stay with the camp and the means to back them Coeur d'Alene offers opportunities for speculative chances that will never occur again to get something for almost nothing.[80]

Nevertheless, the Eagle's message was clear. The editors knew the "FUTURE OF COEUR D'ALENE" rested on the shoulders of organized capital, not on the lone gold stampeder. "Prospecting is poor man's work," they wrote. "Mining is the field for capital, and there are better opportunities for investment in the purchase of prospects in Coeur d'Alene than in any other camp in the wide west." Indeed, "invest" became their cry:

> ...millions upon millions of dollars will be taken from [the district] in the years to come.... What grand opportunity for the capitalists to invest his money, where...it is almost certain to come back to him increased a hundred fold. No other country, no other place offers the opportunities for money making than are to be found in this great Coeur d'Alene mining section.[81]

As if to prove the quality of Coeur d'Alene investment, the Eagle reported success stories like the syndicate of Portland, Oregon, capitalists who, after inspecting their property, were so pleased it was a "certainty that they will immediately take steps to erect a battery and amalgamating works" to reduce the ore from "this valuable mine."[82] To further entice investors, Parker and DeSucca also promoted the strong economic base sprouting in town, including business men from every state and the "promising sign that they are purchasing town property and mining ground and are all preparing to erect larger...places of business...."[83]

Most of this economy relied on accessibility to outside markets and, like the Nugget, the Eagle took pains to assure investors that a number of passable trails existed into the Coeur d'Alenes and that railroads and improved water routes would soon be, at least, a political reality. To enhance this point, the editors were quick to admonish those who neglected the Coeur d'Alenes by reminding politicians and business men of their role in developing a new industrial center:

> Not a single bill concerning any of the territories passed either house of congress.... The democratic leaders were too anxious to adjourn for the Chicago convention to lose any time in legislating for the territory.[84]

> It is Portland's own fault if they have lost our trade. Montana men and Montana money have taken an interest in developing our camp, in which there is far less risk than in any other pursuit.... If [Portland merchants] want to get any Coeur d'Alene trade they must build a wagon road from the mission and thus cheapen freights.[85]

Yet, while simultaneously seeking developers, Parker and DeSucca fought for district autonomy and individualism by biting back at those same Montana investors:

> The weekly shipments of bullion from Helena, Montana, aggregate $130,000. Nearly all our Coeur d'Alene dust is shipped to Helena, but divil [sic] a cents worth of credit do we get for it.[86]

The Eagle also promoted individualism by encouraging locals to persevere, especially when faced by doubt in the bonanza. A characteristic piece, for instance, proclaimed that the "Coeur d'Alene is neither dead nor sleeping, but is a strong, lusty, vigorous and self sustaining camp, which will improve with age and development."[87]

After absorbing the Coeur d'Alene Nugget, Parker's media monopoly lasted two weeks until Henry Bernard brought out his Coeur d'Alene Pioneer April 21, on an old U. S. Army press acquired from the Ketchum (Idaho) Keystone.[88] No copy survives.

A journeyman printer from Oregon Territory, Bernard worked for Silver City, Idaho's Owyhee Avalanche, Boise's Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, and the Keystone before heading north. He moved the Pioneer from Eagle City to the burgeoning town of Murraysville, four miles upstream, at the end of May, 1884. Bernard's subsequent actions provided the front page banner for the Coeur d'Alenes' fourth and only newspaper to survive the pioneer period, Adam Aulbach's Idaho Sun based in Murray:[89]

A TERRIBLE TRAGEDY.
THE SANCTUM TURNED INTO A
SLAUGHTER HOUSE

John Enright Shot Down by Henry Bernard Without the Slightest Provocation--The Community Aroused --Full Testimony and Verdict of the Coroner's Jury.[90]

The "sanctum" was the printing office of the Coeur d'Alene Pioneer. Editor Henry Bernard had shot and killed his ex-compositor. A Lewiston, Idaho, court convicted Bernard of manslaughter and Judge Norman Buck sentenced him to eight years in the Idaho State penitentiary. Governor George Shoup later pardoned Bernard, who never returned to journalism.[91] Leaderless, the Pioneer lasted a few more issues then folded in August, 1884.

With this inaugural issue, Sun editor Adam Aulbach scooped the competition, a fitting debut for the man who became dean of Coeur d'Alene publishers.[92] Parker hailed Aulbach's arrival in Murray -- "Long may the Sun illumine the shades of Prichard creek with its rays" -- without realizing the impact, for within a month Aulbach, the last to arrive, maintained the only local newspaper.[93] Parker retired from the Weekly Eagle in late July then, after a few suspended editions, returned to the paper in August. But to no avail. As many boom towns before it, Eagle City quickly faded. An eyewitness was there to record it:

> ...the richest mines being opened were more contiguous to Murray...east of Eagle, up Pritchard [sic] Creek, business began early in the [1884] season to center in that rival burg...and before midsummer had largely absorbed the business interests and trade of the Coeur d'Alene....[94]

Murray took Eagle City's lead, its audience, and its advertisers. Only four miles away, the Weekly Eagle died of economic starvation by mid-August, 1884.[95] By 1885, Eagle City itself was dead.

Conclusion

Eagle City's five month newspaper boom suggests two socio-economic catalysts dominated editor agendas: 1) establish the Coeur d'Alene mineral discovery as a legitimate bonanza and, 2) induce selective immigration and capital investment to develop the district, thus creating a permanent early industrial society. Editors promoted both catalysts through booster journalism and, in doing so, themselves became social catalysts by influencing the composition of Eagle City society.

McGlashan & Edwards' Coeur d'Alene Nugget and Parker & DeSucca's Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle, for example, both promoted the region as a mineral bonanza awaiting exploitation -- but not by the poor individual prospector. These pioneer editors knew that deep gold placers demanded organized capital to make them pay. They also sensed the inevitable economic transition from placer to lode mining with its similar demands for investment. The editors thus actively discouraged any dream of instant riches for the transient, opportunistic placer miner. They wanted to attract the capital, the mining expertise, and the labor that could develop the district into a permanent industrial center. They did this primarily by assuring the economic promise of abundant mineral wealth for those willing to invest or work and by touting all possible transportation improvements, which provided economical access to distant markets.

The editors' socio-economic agenda subsumed the region's initial political and labor catalysts. The first concern in local

politics was to push for and gain permission for as much economic development as possible. Legislation favorable to such development, especially transportation-related issues like railroad right of ways and toll road funding, became the editors' battle cry. The Coeur d'Alene Nugget's self-proclaimed creed of "faith in the diggings, [and] its politics the prosperity of the Coeur d'Alene" exemplifies this attitude.[96]

Originally an individualistic, socially-equal, self-employed pioneer society, there was a near immediate call for hired labor, especially to build the towns. But this labor division did not divide the fledgling Coeur d'Alene society. Carpenters, sawyers, and woodsmen carried social status similar to local business men and prospectors. Indeed, wage workers were often themselves prospectors or business entrepreneurs. A sign painter, for instance, hired himself out to arriving merchants but still maintained a mining claim. Labor, which quickly became a primary catalyst of societal change in the Coeur d'Alenes, was not yet an issue in 1884.[97]

The newspapers reflected this equality through a balanced approach to news reporting often novel to booster journalism. Yet the newspapers' emphases on encouraging investors and discouraging transient gold-fevered fortune hunters in turn reflected a desire to attract permanent wage workers who could enact investor goals. In this application, balanced reportage became almost a warning against immigrating with grandiose dreams of personal fortune,

while it simultaneously hinted at future wage work: "Even should the mines turn out to be the richest yet worked there is bound to be more disappointed men than successful ones" for "capital is the key by which alone [these mountains full of silver and gold] can be unlocked" and when "these prospects pass into the hands of men with money and energy, we shall have good mines, providing these men have some knowledge of mining, and do not expect to get a fortune for nothing."[98]

As the baseline for measuring journalistic change in the Coeur d'Alenes, the 1884 Eagle City papers were in many ways "boom town newspapers" created to ballyhoo the Coeur d'Alene bonanza.[99] The editors thrived on growth and expansion. Their "loyalties were intense, naive, [and] optimistic."[100] Eagle City editors did seek order and permanency for their camp by courting capital and settlers, providing pertinent local mining news, and encouraging socio-economic and political catalysts that would make future growth possible. In this last major U. S. gold rush, such camp journalism found its final chapter.

But with a twist. From its source, Coeur d'Alene journalism pointed toward the capital/labor division that erupted as violence in 1892 and 1899.[101] For the pioneer Eagle City newspapers helped germinate that societal division. Unlike earlier agricultural and mining frontier editors, Eagle City editors did not have to "call into being the very population it aimed to serve."[102] Population and commerce preceded Coeur d'Alene news-

paper entrepreneurs. This sequence altered their promotional mission. They became selective boosters who understood that changing economic conditions demanded social adjustment. These editors thus selected their audience carefully and, as a result, influenced the Coeur d'Alenes' social composition. With an aggressive style, a pro-development agenda, and a role as community promoter, they helped begin the Coeur d'Alenes' transition from a socially-based prospecting society to an economically-based early industrial wage worker society by promoting the district to capitalist developers and laborers and by demoting the notion it was a fabled land of golden treasure and individual opportunity where riches came to an outstretched palm.

NOTES

[1]The mining records of the Coeur d'Alene district as reported in James L. Onderdonk, Idaho. Facts and Statistics Concerning Its Mining, Farming, and Other Resources and Industries. Together with Notes on the Climate, Scenery, Game, and Mineral Springs. Information for the Home-Seeker, Capitalist, Prospector, and Traveler. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co. 1885): 126.

[2]Nez Perce [ID] News in the Blackfoot [ID] Register, 17 November 1883, p. 2, c. 3.

[3]Schwantes terms such socio-economic evolution the "wageworkers' frontier" -- the literal transition period from wilderness to an organized, industrial society. Carlos A. Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wage Workers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," Western Historical Quarterly (January 1987): 39-55. The Coeur d'Alene mining district made this transition within a few years of its founding, see: J. L. Brice, "The Coeur d'Alenes, Idaho." Mining 12:3-4 (September-October 1903); John M. Henderson, William S. Shiach and Harry B. Averill, An Illustrated History of North Idaho Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai and Shoshone Counties, Part VI, History of Shoshone County. (Spokane: Western Historical Publishing Co. 1903); Richard G. Magnuson, Coeur d'Alene Diary: The First Ten Years of Hardrock Mining in North Idaho. (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort 1968); Robert Wayne Smith, The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892: A Case Study of an

Industrial Dispute. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press 1961); Thomas Carpenter, Labor Conflict in the Mining Industry of the Coeur d'Alenes, 1892 and 1899. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1973; Stanley S. Phipps, From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table: The Tumultuous Struggle of the Coeur d'Alenes Miners for the Right to Organize, 1887-1942. (New York: Garland 1988). Note: The Coeur d'Alene mining district is in the Coeur d'Alene and Bitteroot mountains drained by the north and south forks of the Coeur d'Alene river into Lake Coeur d'Alene. It has no relation to Coeur d'Alene City.

[4]Pioneer editors did this by marshalling support for better transportation and communication facilities, better government, schools, churches, police and fire protection. They also furthered a sense of community through town-boosting, which reinforced reasons to stay in town and which encouraged further immigration. Oliver Knight, "The Frontier Newspaper as a Catalyst in Social Change," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, (April 1967): 74-81. Knight studied Silver City, (southern) Idaho's Owyhee Avalance of 1865-1867.

[5]David Fridtjof Halaas, Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1859-1881. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1981): 100-103. While acknowledging the vital community role newspapers played, historians of the earlier agricultural frontier press promote a more passive social role for editors. Agricultural frontier newspapers provided a political voice, a civilizing influence to ensure law and order, a means of publishing laws, reading matter and news from outside, and publicized the area's potential to lure settlers and investors, much to the benefit of mechants and land developers. Like Knight and Halaas, these historians conclude pioneer editors considered themselves individualistic and competitive. But unlike Knight and Halaas, they further conclude that editors were seldom reformers. Since editors operated in debt, they remained subservient to the political or economic masters that founded their newspaper. Rather than social catalysts, such editors were mirrors of their society, "bound... by the norms of [their] frontier community." For example, see: William H. Lyon, The Pioneer Editor In Missouri 1808-1860 (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press 1965); Barron Beshoar, "The Strife and Struggle of a Newspaper in the Old West," The American West 10 (Sept. 1973): 45; Mark Wyman, "Frontier Journalism," Idaho Yesterdays 17 (Spring 1973): 30-36; Thomas H. Heuterman, "Assessing the 'Press on Wheels': Individualism in Frontier Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 53 (1976): 423-428; William H. Lyon, "The Significance of Newspapers on the American Frontier," Journal of the West (April 1980): 3-13; Barbara Cloud, "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper: A Study of Eight Western Territories," Journalism Quarterly 61 (1984): 805-810; William E. Huntzicker, "Historians and the American Frontier Press," American Journalism V:1 (1988): 28-45; Huntzicker, "The Frontier Press 1800-1900." Chapter eight in William D. Sloan, James G. Stovall, James D. Startt (eds.), The Media in America: A History (Worthington, OH: Publishing Horizons 1989): 165-190.

Quote from Lyons, "Significance," p. 9.

[6]Halaas said editors sought "decent families" and left it at that, pp. 9, 31, 78, 87; Knight reprints, without examining the impact, one editorial which states the mining camp was "a place for the laborer and capitalist," p. 76.

[7]W. Earl Greenough, First 100 Years, Coeur d'Alene Mining Region, 1846-1946. (Mullan, ID: W. Earl Greenough 1947): 17.

Dollar values of the Coeur d'Alene mining district:

1883 - no figures available.
1884 - lead, none; silver, none; gold, $258,375.
1885 - lead, none; silver, none; gold, $376,607.
1886 - lead, $138,300; silver, $115,664; gold, $182,371.
1887 - lead, $538,200; silver, $332,520; gold, $152,276.

[8]The first silver-lead claim came by accident in May 1884 when a party of gold prospectors came across chunks of shiny, black galena ore while panning up Canyon Creek just over the mountains south of Murray. Two of this group, John Canten and Almeda Seymore, stopped to investigate and soon located the Tiger claim in what became the town of Burke. Three days later Scott McDonald and George P. Carter staked the Poorman claim on this same lode. Other south side silver-lead claims -- the Gold Hunter, Morning, Evening, and others -- led to the founding of Mullan, Idaho, named for the early road builder. See Brice, p. 41; Henderson et al., p. 992; Greenough, p. 19.

[9]See Phipps; Smith; Carpenter.

[10]Halaas, p. 25. Mining camp editors also paid particular attention to reporting local mining news, see pages 9-10.

[11]Henderson et al., pp. 984-989.

[12]Prichard first contacted his Liberal League friends, an association of "free thinkers" consisting of critics of the existing social system. Ralph E. Dyar, News For An Empire: The Story of the Spokesman-Review of Spokane, Washington, and of the Field It Serves. (Caldwell, ID: Caxton 1952): 12; Phipps, p. 4.

[13]Onderdonk, p. 20.

[14]Northern Pacific Railroad Co., General Passenger Department, Circular No. 6. (St. Paul, MN: February 1, 1884). In Eagle City, Idaho Territory, The Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 1, c. 2. NP's emphasis.

[15]Figures for 1884, estimated from such accessible data as poll-tax payers, property tax payers, popular vote, and school populations, plus returns from official assessment roles put Shoshone county population at 467 in 1880; 2,500 in 1884; 9,500 in 1889, see Onderdonk, p. 21; George L. Shoup, Report of the Governor of Idaho to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889.

(Washington, DC: Government Printing Office 1889): 4. The 1890 U. S. Census records 5,383 Shoshone county inhabitants, Compendium of the 11th Census: 1890, Part I, Population, U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office (Washington, DC: GPO 1892): 14. In his 1889 Idaho Territorial Governor's report, however, George Shoup warns that a significant number of prospectors and trappers wandering deep in uncharted territory are seldom accounted for. Some estimates put the figure as high as 10,000 in the Coeur d'Alene district alone.

[16]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 3, c. 2; Quote from p.1, c. 3.

[17]Eugene V. Smalley, "The Coeur d'Alene Stampede," Century Magazine v. 28 (1884): 841.

[18]An Illustrated History of the State of Idaho Containing a History of the State of Idaho From the Earliest Period of Its Discovery, etc., (Chicago: Lewis Publishing 1899): 431.

[19]Onderdonk, p. 126.

[20]Smalley, p. 846; Henderson et al., p. 989.

[21]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 3.

[22]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 1, c. 3.

[23]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 22 March 1884. In Henderson et al., p. 989.

[24]William M. Bunn, Report of the Governor of Idaho, made to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1884. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office 1884): 6.

[25]Interview with A. F. Parker, Portland, Oregon Oregonian, 10 February 1884. In Official Map and Hand-Book of the Coeur d'Alene Mines, Idaho Territory. (Portland, OR: Lewis & Dryden, Publishers of the "Official Travelers' Guide of the N.P.R.R. 1884): 28-31; Henderson et al., pp. 988-989; Smalley, p. 842. In 1884, travel expenses from St. Paul, Minnesota to Eagle City averaged $90.59. Expenses from Portland, Oregon to Eagle City averaged $35.43 (via the Oregon Rail Road & Navigation Co. and the N.P.R.R.). For a listing of 1884 routes and fares see Newton H. Chittendon, "The Gold Fields of the Coeur d'Alene," Circular 12 of "The World's Guide for Home, Health, Gold and Pleasure Seekers," (n. p. 1884): 8-10.

[26]The Coeur d'Alene Miner appeared January 26, 1884 and the Coeur d'Alene Enterprise February 25, both printed in Spokane Falls, Washington Territory. In Edward S. Meany, "History of Southeastern Washington," The Washington Historical Quarterly, XIV, No. 4 (September 1942): 271; The Coeur d'Alene Post also circulated in the district but its origin is uncertain. In Idaho

Semi-Weekly World, 11 March 1884. Spence has it printed at Coeur d'Alene City. Melville R. Spence, Bibliography and Union List of Idaho Newspapers, 1862-1955. (n.p. May, 1956). These short-lived newspapers never relocated to the mining region.

[27]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 3; 9 April 1884, p. 2, c. 1. Frank Dallam printed the issues in his Spokane Falls Review print shop.

[28]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c.1.

[29]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 9 April 1884, p. 2., c. 1.

[30]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2., c. 1. Author's emphasis.

[31]Henderson et al., pp. 990, 1210.

[32]McGlashan and Edward's printing press arrived in Eagle City on April 4, 1884. They printed their first local Coeur d'Alene Nugget on April 9. Parker's first Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle came out on April 12.

[33]Armed with privileged information from their news gathering, editors could not resist the temptation to invest whatever capital they possessed in various land and mining properties. Editors had personal stakes in the success of their camps. See Halaas, pp. 9, 15, 25-26, 32-38, 87-89.

[34]Halaas, p. 7.

[35]Henderson et al., pp. 990-995.

[36]Frank Luther Mott and Daniel Boorstin are among the first historians who have singled out the important promotional role newspapers played to attract settlers and investment to the expanding western agricultural frontier and later mining frontier. Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950, revised edition. (New York: Macmillan 1950): 282; Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience. (New York: Vintage Books 1965): 124-134. Halaas documents such journalism on the Rocky Mountain mining frontier 1859-1881. Reed suggests that at least one early Coeur d'Alene newspaper reflects characteristics of frontier journalism like boosterism: V. Delbert Reed, "A Last Hurrah for the Frontier Press," American Journalism VI (1989):2: 65-84; Vergobbi expands Reed suggesting that in fact the Wallace Press combined elements of an earlier journalistic tradition based in both agricultural frontier newspapers of the 1850s-70s and boom town mining frontier papers of 1860-81 with an emerging commercial press: David J. Vergobbi, "Hybrid Press: Newspapering on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier, 1890-1892." Paper presented at AEJMC National Convention, Minneapolis, Minn., August 1990. This conclusion came from identifying and describing through content

analysis the journalistic elements of the newspaper.

[37]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 1.

[38]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 1, c.1.

[39]Six routes are named for their starting points: Spokane Falls, WA; Rathdrum and Heron, ID; Thompson's Falls, Belknap, and Trout Creek, MT. The seventh route also started in Rathdrum and is named for its discoverer, William Martin, Kootenai County Sheriff.

[40]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 7 May 1884, p. 2, c. 1.

[41]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 2.

[42]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 2.

[43]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 3, c. 4.

[44]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 3, c. 3.

[45]Halaas, p. 94.

[46]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, generally.

[47]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 3, c. 3.

[48]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 3, c. 2, 4, p. 2, c. 3. Halaas speaks directly to editor fears that reports of violence would frighten off decent families and needed capital, pp. 77-78, 85.

[49]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 9 April 1884, p. 2, c. 1-2.

[50]See James W. Carey, "The Communication Revolution and the Professional Communicator," Sociological Review Monograph 13 (Jan 1969); Bernard Roshco, Newsmaking, Chapters 3 and 4. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1975); Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Harper 1978); Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality (N.Y.: The Free Press 1980); Dan Schiller, Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism (Phil.: Univ. of Penn. Press 1981).

[51]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 1.

[52]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 4, c. 2.

[53]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 1, c. 2.

[54]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 1.

[55]Boorstin, p. 124.

[56]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 1, c. 3.

[57]Halaas, pp. 64-66.

[58]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 1, c. 3.

[59]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 3, c. 2.

[60]Halaas, pp. 100-103.

[61]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 4, c. 1.

[62]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 9 April 1884, p. 1, 5.

[63]Henderson et al., p. 990, 992. For example see Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884; Murray, Idaho Territory, Idaho Sun, 8 July 1884.

[64]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 9 April 1884, p. 5, c. 1.

[65]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 9 April 1884, p. 2, c. 1.

[66]Henderson et al., p. 1210; Spence, p. 13; Lewiston [ID] Teller, 5 June 1884.

[67]April 23, 1884, Commissioners' Journal, Shoshone County, Book B.

[68]Boorstin, p. 128-129; Halaas, pp. 39-40.

[69]April 23, 1884, Commissioners' Journal, Shoshone County, Book B.

[70]Eagle City, Idaho Territory, Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle, 11 July 1884, p. 3, c. 2; 18 July 1884, p. 3, c. 2.

[71]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p.4, c. 3.

[72]Eagle, 11 July 1884, p. 2, c. 3, p. 3, c. 3.

[73]Eagle, April 1884. In Henderson et al., p. 990.

[74]Oregonian, 10 February 1884, in Hand-Book, p. 28.

[75]Oregonian, 10 February 1884, in Hand-Book, p. 30.

[76]Oregonian, 10 February 1884, in Hand-Book, p. 30.

[77]Eagle, 11 July 1884, p. 4, c. 2.

[78]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 2, c. 2.

[79]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p.2, c. 2. Author's emphasis.

[80]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 3, c. 1. Author's emphasis.

[81]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 2, c. 3.

[82]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 3, c. 1.

[83]Eagle, 12 April 1884, p. 1, c. 1.

[84]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 2, c. 3.

[85]Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 3, c. 1-2.

[86]Eagle, 11 July 1884, p. 2, c. 3.

[87]Eagle, 11 July 1884, p. 2, c. 3.

[88]Kenneth Leonard Robison, "Idaho Territorial Newspapers." Master's thesis, Univ. of Oregon (1966): 200.

[89]Aulbach changed the name to the Coeur d'Alene Sun in January 1885.

[90]The Idaho Sun, 8 July 1884, p. 1., c. 2.

[91]Byron Defenbach, Idaho: The Place and Its People. (Chicago: American Historical Society 1933): 471; Ketchum Keystone, 7 December 1889.

[92]See Henderson et al., pp. 1210-1211; Vergobbi, generally.

[93]Eagle, 11 July 1884, p. 5, c. 2.

[94]Onderdonk, p. 127.

[95]Henderson et al., pp. 991-992, 1210.

[96]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 2, c. 1.

[97]See Phipps; Smith; Carpenter.

[98]Coeur d'Alene Nugget, 15 March 1884, p. 4, c. 2; Coeur d'Alene Weekly Eagle, 18 July 1884, p. 2, c. 2.

[99]Halaas, title.

[100]Boorstin, p. 123.

[101]See Phipps; Smith; Carpenter.

[102]Boorstin, p. 124.

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